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# THE RELATIONS

BETWEEN

# ANCIENT RUSSIA AND SCANDINAVIA,

AND

# THE ORIGIN OF THE RUSSIAN STATE.

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BY

DR. VILHELM THOMSEN

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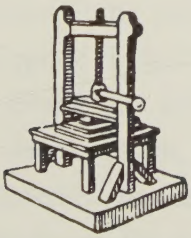

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# PREFACE.

THE Lectures which are here presented to the public were delivered at Oxford in May, 1876, by invitation of the Curators of the Taylor Institution as administrators of the Ilchester Bequest for the encouragement of the study of the Slavonic Language, Literature, and History. Within the boundaries set by the terms of the endowment, it was natural to me to choose a subject which, at the same time as being Slavonic, had some reference to Scandinavia, and I could not long be in doubt as to the choice.

I give the Lectures here, in the main, so as I had at first written them, with such slight modifications and additions as, in revising my manuscript, I thought necessary. According to this plan I have not hesitated to insert several details of a philological kind which I was obliged to leave out or abridge when delivering the Lectures, but which are in fact so important to the purpose I had set myself that it seemed to me they could not well be omitted here; such will be found, for instance, in the inquiry into the names of the Dnieper rapids, the Old Russian proper names, the history of the name Varangian, &c.

I hope that the book may have gained by this, and I shall be glad if I have succeeded in contributing somewhat towards the final and impartial solution of a historic-ethnographical problem which may possibly have some interest also to English readers.

I beg to express my best thanks first and foremost to the Curators of the Taylor Institution, not only for their honourable invitation to lecture at Oxford, but also for their liberality in undertaking the printing of the Lectures at the cost of the endowment; next, to all those who have met me with kindness, as well with respect to the present work, as during my stay in England. Among them I must be allowed to offer my special thanks to one of the Curators, the Rev. G. W. Kitchin, who has also kindly assisted me in reading the proofs, an assistance all the more valuable in that it has been afforded to one who is writing in a foreign language.

COPENHAGEN,
November, 1877.

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# LECTURE I.

## ON THE INHABITANTS OF ANCIENT RUSSIA AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE RUSSIAN STATE.

FROM the first dawn of authentic history that vast territory which now constitutes European Russia, or at least the large central portion of it, appears to have been inhabited, in the main, by the same nationalities which still form the bulk of its population, that is, partly by Slavonians, partly by Finnish and Tataric tribes. But the relations between these various nationalities were then quite different from what they are at the present day; the overwhelming superiority, numerically and politically speaking, which the Slavonic element has acquired over the others, has been the work of comparatively modern times, while the foundation of a Russian state belongs to none of them.

We must for a moment glance at the primitive history of the Slavonians in Russia and the ethnography of that extensive country at the period when we first meet with the name of Russia.

The Slavs or Slavonians are a branch of that great family which we call the Aryan or the Indo-European family, which, from time out of mind, has occupied by far the greater part of Europe. Of course the Slavonians have lived in our part of the world quite as

long as any of their brother-peoples; but, except their very nearest kinsmen and neighbours, the Lithuanians and the Lets, there are none of the Aryan tribes upon which history begins to cast its light so late as upon the Slavonians. Their domicile was so remote from the centres of ancient culture, that the Greeks and Romans could scarcely come into direct contact with them; and having always been, as they are still, by nature a peaceable people, they themselves never greatly interfered in the affairs of their border-lands. This is the reason why the Slavonians were so late in making their appearance on the stage of history.

It was only when the Romans had already got footing in Germany, that they became aware, through the Germans, of the existence of the Slavonians, and that we begin to find them mentioned by classic authors. The first Latin author who clearly alludes to them is Pliny the elder (+79 A.D.); and he expresses himself very cautiously thus: 'Some say the countries beyond the Vistula are inhabited by the Sarmates, the *Venedi*[1],' &c. A little later we again find the *Veneti* mentioned by the Roman historian Tacitus in his description of Germany (ch. xlvi); he is in doubt whether this people is to be numbered among the Germans or not; however, he is inclined to believe that they should be so, because they greatly resemble the Germans in their mode of living. From this time the name of the Slavonians appears a little more frequently in the historical and geographical works of antiquity.

[1] Pliny, Hist. Natur. iv. § 96 (14): 'Quidam haec habitari ad Vistulam usque fluvium a Sarmatis, Venedis, Sciris, Hirris tradunt.'

The name under which the Slavonians appear in ancient literature, is generally *Venedi* or *Veneti* (*Venadi*, *Vinidae*, Οὐενέδαι). This name, unknown to the Slavonians themselves, is that by which the Teutonic tribes have from the first designated these their eastern neighbours, viz. *Wends*, and the use of this appellation by the Roman authors plainly shows that their knowledge of the Slavonians was derived only from the Germans. The Old German form of this name was *Winedâ*, and *Wenden* is the name which the Germans of the present day give to the remnants of a Slavonic population, formerly large, who now inhabit Lusatia, while they give the name of *Winden* to the Slovens in Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria; we find the Anglo-Saxon form, *Winedas*, *Weonodas*, in King Alfred's Orosius, as a designation of the Wends or Slavonians south of the Baltic, and *Vender* (in the Old Norse *Vindr*) was the name under which this wild heathen people was known in the North, especially in Denmark, during the middle ages (11th and 12th centuries). Also the Finnish nations that border the Baltic and the gulf of Bothnia in ancient time borrowed this name from the Scandinavians or the Goths, and still apply it to Russia, which is called by the Finlanders *Venäjä*, *Venää*, or *Venät*, and by the Esthonians *Vene*[1]. If the Slavonians themselves ever applied any common name to the whole of their family, it must most probably have been that by which we now are accustomed to call them, *Slavs*, or *Slavonians;* its original

[1] Comp. V. Thomsen, Den gotiske Sprogklasses Indflydelse på den finske, Köbenhavn, 1869, p. 109, 159.

native form was *Slovêne*. Usually, however, each of the numerous tribes into which the Slavonians were divided from days of yore called itself by some peculiar name, and even the name *Slovêne* never appears as a common appellation, handed down by tradition, but only as a name which different tribes far remote from each other applied to themselves.

The most ancient sources from which we derive a knowledge of the Wends or Slavonians, unanimously place them by the Vistula. From that river, which must have formed their western frontier, they extended eastward to the Dnieper, and even beyond. To the south the Carpathians formed their boundary. To the north they perhaps crossed the Dwina into the territory afterwards known as Novgorod.

In the extensive woods and marshes which cover these remote tracts the Slavonians seem to have dwelt in peace and quiet during the first centuries after Christ, divided into a number of small tribes or clans, providing for their own wants without troubling their neighbours, if they themselves were not molested, and almost uninfluenced by the events which in those times disturbed the greater part of Europe. At any rate, history has handed nothing down to us which can lead us to suppose that the Slavs had, at that period, taken part in those important events.

In the third or fourth century the Goths advanced from the southern shores of the Baltic, through the western part of what now constitutes Russia. One of their leaders, the conqueror Ermanarik, having established here for a short time a powerful kingdom, the Slavs also were compelled to bow beneath his

yoke. But the Goths soon moved off southwards, and their relations to the Slavs of Russia were at an end.

I must not here omit to refer to an interesting little discovery lately made, which, in my opinion, must certainly have come down to us from these Gothic immigrants. It consists of a spear-head bearing a short Runic inscription, which has been found in the neighbourhood of a town called Kovel in Volhynia. This inscription is in the so-called ancient runes, and the period to which it must belong is thus clearly determined as the third or fourth century A.D. It consists only of a man's name—no doubt the owner's—which from the characters must probably be read E(?)LARIDS[1]. The period and the idiomatic form of the inscribed name make it almost impossible not to see in it a memento of the invasion of these lands by the Goths.

It was not long, however, before their primitive home became too narrow for the Slavs, and as their numbers could no longer be contained within their ancient boundaries—and, perhaps, compelled to it by pressure from without—they began to spread themselves to the west, in which direction the great

[1] This discovery has just now been made public by A. Szumowski, together with a letter on the Runic inscription written by the Danish runologist, Dr. L. Wimmer, in the Polish Review, Wiadomości Archeologiczne, vol. iii. p. 49–61. Warsaw, 1876. The spear-head itself has, both in workmanship and ornamentation, an extraordinary resemblance to one found near Müncheberg in the province of Brandenburg, which is represented in Professor G. Stephens's Old Northern Runic Monuments, vol. ii. p. 880.

migrations of the fourth and fifth centuries had made abundant room for the new immigrants.

By two different roads the Slavs now begin to advance in great masses. On the one side, they cross the Vistula and extend over the tracts between the Carpathian mountains and the Baltic, right down to the Elbe, the former Germanic population of this region having either emigrated or being exhausted by their intestine contests and their deadly struggle with the Roman empire. By this same road the *Poles*, and probably also the *Chekhs* of Bohemia and Moravia, reached the districts they have inhabited since that period. In the rest of this western territory the Slavonians were afterwards almost exterminated during their bloody wars with the Germans, so that but few of their descendants exist.

The other road by which the Slavonians advanced lay to the south-west, along the course of the Danube. These are the so-called South-Slavonians · the *Bulgarians*, the *Servians*, the *Croatians*, and farthest westward, the *Slovens*. A thousand years ago, however, the Slavonians occupied in this their new home a still more extensive tract of land than they do now; in the south Slavonic colonies were to be found far down the Græco-Turkish peninsula, and northward their territory extended over a large portion of what was anciently Dacia and Pannonia, — the country which, a little later, the Hungarians made their home.

These Southern Slavs have played an important part with regard to the whole race, inasmuch as they have been the intermediate link between Christian-

ized civilisation and their own heathen kindred tribes. It was to the Danubian Slavs (especially in Pannonia) that the two Thessalonian brothers, Cyrillus and Methodius, the national saints of the Slavonians, preached the gospel in their (Bulgarian?) mother-tongue in the latter part of the ninth century, and founded a flourishing literature. By the spread of Christianity to the other Southern and Eastern Slavs, this literature found a new home, and until a few centuries ago, this '*Old Slavonic*' tongue, in a slightly modified form, was the only written language of these nations. Even at the present day it is the language used by the Greek Church in their religious services.

Of the Slavonians who remained in their ancient home, which now forms the western part of Russia, we hear little or nothing for several centuries. The first document which gives us an explicit account of them is the old Russian chronicle, which bears the name of the monk Nestor (+c. 1115?): in this work the father of Russian history has bequeathed us an extremely valuable sketch of the ancient history of his native land to about the year 1110. The author begins his work with a description of the Slavonic tribes who dwelt in what is now called Russia at the commencement of Russian history, that is to say, in the ninth century, and we perceive that the Slavs at that period were just as far from forming a nation as they were when we first found them mentioned in history; they were divided into a number of tribes, each independent of the other, and each enjoying but little order in its internal social state.

These tribes were, according to Nestor, the *Slovêne* (or Slavonians κατ' ἐξοχήν) round Lake Ilmen, with Novgorod for their capital; to the south of them lay the *Krivichi* round the sources of the Volga, the Dwina, and the Dnieper, with Smolensk for their capital; west of them was a kindred tribe, the *Polochane*, by the little river Polota and the Dwina, their capital being Polotsk. In the tract of land lying to the west of the Dnieper we find, if we turn southwards, first the *Dregovichi*, then the *Drevliane*, and farther on the *Poliane*, one of the most important of them all, whose capital, Kiev, became so celebrated in later times; besides some tribes of less importance. On the eastern side of the Dnieper we meet with a few Slavonic tribes, namely, the *Radimichi*, south of Smolensk, the *Viatichi* near Oka, the most easterly of all the tribes, and lastly the *Sêveriane*, just opposite the *Poliane*.

You will perceive that even at this time a single tribe only, the Viatichi, had reached the centre of what is now called Russia; the Slavs cannot have established themselves much farther east than they had done four hundred years before, when these districts were the common home of the whole race. I must further call your attention to the fact that the name *Russians* was still completely unknown, and as yet applied to none of the Slavonic tribes mentioned by Nestor.

If we cast a glance beyond the boundaries of the Slavonic world, we find the greater part of what is now called Russia peopled by Finnish and Tataric tribes. The broad belt of steppes which covers the

southern part of that country, and which in antiquity had been inhabited principally by the Scyths, was at that time occupied by hordes of Tatar or Turkish origin, living more or less as nomads. The *Khazars* were the most important of these tribes at the opening of Russian history. In the latter half of the seventh century A.D. they had formed a state, the capital of which was *Itil* on the Volga, in the neighbourhood of the modern town of Astrachan. A fortress of theirs is also mentioned, *Sarkel*, 'the White House,' constructed with the assistance of Greek engineers about 835, probably on the lower course of the river Don. By degrees the greater part of what is now southern Russia fell into their power, and in the ninth century the Slavonic tribes nearest to their frontier, the Polians, the Severians and the Viatichi, were forced to become their tributaries. The state of the Khazarian 'Khagan,' as their prince was titled, won the respect even of the Greeks, and the extensive trade carried on by his subjects made them frequent guests in Constantinople. It was reserved to the Russian princes by degrees to repel the Khazars, till, in the year 969, their power was finally crushed by the conquest and destruction of their capital Itil, their fortress Sarkel having been taken four years earlier by the Russian prince Sviatoslav.

North of the Khazars, along the Volga, particularly on the left bank of that river, dwelt several other Tatar tribes. The most important of these were the *Bulgarians* of the Volga and the Kama. This people is very frequently mentioned by historians, and we learn that they were not nomads, like so many of

their kindred tribes, but had fixed dwelling-places. They employed themselves in agriculture, and also in trade, which indeed was their chief occupation, and their capital, *Bulgar*, near the modern town of Kazan, was frequented by numerous merchants who reached it by the Volga. Between the territory occupied by Slavs and the Volga, as well as throughout the whole of the northern part of the extensive Russian dominions, dwelt a number of Finnish tribes, of which many exist at the present day, though they are now more or less intermingled with the Russians, and are certainly not so numerous as in former times. Thus Nestor mentions the *Mordvins* (*Mordva*), the most southern tribe of all, now settled between the Oka and the Volga. To the north of them, in the present governments of Viatka and Kazan, we still find the *Cheremis*, *Cheremisa* of Nestor. If we turn to the north-west, we find north of the Slavonians of Novgorod, dwelling round the Gulf of Finland and Lake Ladoga, different Finnish tribes, nearly akin to the inhabitants of Finland, whom the Russian chronicles comprise under the common name *Chud'*. These, with the Lettish and Lithuanian tribes who dwelt to the south of them, west of the Krivichi and the Polochans, completely excluded the Slavs from the Baltic and its bays.

The tribes whom Nestor mentions as dwelling nearest to the Slavs on their eastern side, in the centre of modern Russia, have, on the contrary, quite disappeared, having been gradually absorbed by the Slavonian nationality. He thus names one tribe, *Muroma*, who lived near the Oka, to the north-west

of the Mordvins, and who probably were nearly akin to them. This tribe has long ago become extinct. Its name however still exists as the name of an ancient town, Murom, on the Oka. To the north of them dwelt the *Meria*, and farther northward the *Ves'*, two tribes which once were doubtless large and important. Jordanes, in his History of the Goths, names the *Vasina* (?), the *Merens*, and the *Mordens* (i. e. the Ves, the Meria, and the Mordvins), among the peoples who had once been subjugated by the Gothic conqueror Ermanarik. The name of the Ves occurs too in Arabic authors as *Visu*. According to Nestor the two lakes, Rostov and Kleshtchino (or Pereyaslavl), formed the centre of the Merian territory, while the Ves are said to have dwelt near the lake Bielo-ozero.

Of the extinct Finnish tribes the Meria is perhaps the one of which we know the most. From 1851 to 1854 a Russian archæologist, Count A. Uvarov, with great energy undertook a long series of researches in the territory the Merians inhabited in former times. In the course of his enquiry he opened no less than 7729 barrows, of which in this district there is an immense number, often, as it were, massed together as in great cemeteries. His researches have brought to light a great many antiquities of all kinds,—weapons (axes and spears, but no swords, this weapon being unknown to all Finnish tribes), household utensils, furniture, ornaments, coins, &c. &c., which had been buried with the deceased. These antiquities, which are now deposited in a museum in Moscow, cast a new light on the manners and customs of this tribe,

long since extinct[1]. The insight we have thus acquired enables us to judge of the mode of living, &c., of their kindred tribes of whom no such relics exist. It is needless here to particularise these results, which are not connected with our subject. I will only remark that it must have been a barbarous tribe and but little civilised, chiefly engaged in war and the chase. The discovery of numerous coins, Arabic and of the west of Europe, indicates that they carried on commerce, and also proves that their nationality and their peculiar customs were still in existence in the twelfth century, for the most modern coins which have been found belong to that age. But from that time their denationalisation must have advanced with rapid strides, contemporaneously with the spread of Christianity and the immigration of Slavonic settlers.

It is not necessary to dwell any longer on the list of names of other tribes; these few remarks must suffice to give a general idea of the ethnographic relations that existed in the ninth century in the lands now known to us as Russia. We find that extensive country peopled by a number of tribes of different descent—Slavs, Finns, Tatars—united by no common tie and all generally but little civilised. It was only about the middle of the ninth century that the foundation was laid of the *Russian* state, the first nucleus of that mighty empire which

[1] Comp. Étude sur les peuples primitifs de la Russie. Les Mériens. Par le Comte A. Ouvaroff. Trad. du Russe par M. F. Malaqué. St. Pétb. 1875.

has afterwards united all these various races into one political body.

'In the year 859,' says Nestor[1], 'came the Varangians from beyond the sea and demanded tribute from the Chud and from the Slavonians, the Meria, the Ves and the Krivichi; but the Khazars took tribute of the Polians, the Severians, and of the Viatichi.'

Then he continues: 'In the year 862 they drove the Varangians over the sea, and paid them no tribute, and they began to govern themselves, and there was no justice among them, and clan rose against clan, and there was internal strife between them, and they began to make war upon each other. And they said to each other: Let us seek for a prince who can reign over us and judge what is right. And they went over the sea to the Varangians, to *Rus'*, for so were these Varangians called: they were called *Rus'* as others are called *Svie* (Swedes), others *Nurmane* (Northmen, Norwegians), others *Angliane* (English, or Angles of Sleswick?), others *Gote* (probably the inhabitants of the island of Gothland). The Chud, the Slavonians, the Krivichi and the Ves said to Rus: Our land is large and rich, but there is no order in it; come ye and rule and reign over us. And three brothers were chosen with their whole clan, and they took with them all the Rus, and they came. And the eldest, Rurik, settled in Novgorod[2],

[1] Chronica Nestoris edidit Fr. Miklosich, p. 9–10. Vindobonae, 1860. Лѣтопись по Лаврентіевскому списку. Изданіе археографической коммиссіи, стр. 18–19. Санктпетерб., 1872.

[2] According to several manuscripts (e.g. the Hypatian and the Radzi-

and the second, Sineus, near Bielo-ozero, and the third, Truvor, in Izborsk. And the Russian land, Novgorod, was called after these Varangians; they are the Novgorodians of Varangian descent; previously the Novgorodians were Slavonians. But after the lapse of two years Sineus and his brother Truvor died, and Rurik assumed the government and divided the towns among his men, to one Polotsk, to another Rostov, to another Bielo-ozero.'

Such is Nestor's naïve description of the foundation of the Russian state. If it be read without prejudice or sophistical comment, it cannot be doubted that the word *Varangians* is used here as a common term for the inhabitants of Scandinavia, and that *Rus'* was meant to be the name of a particular Scandinavian tribe; this tribe, headed by Rurik and his brothers, is said to have crossed the sea and founded a state whose capital, for a time, was Novgorod, and this state was the nucleus of the present Russian empire.

Next, Nestor tells us that in the same year two of Rurik's men, 'who were not of his family,' Askold and Dir, separated themselves from him with the intention to go to Constantinople. They went down the Dnieper; but when they arrived at Kiev, the capital of the Polians, who at that time were tributary to the Khazars, they preferred to stay there, and

will MSS.) Rurik first settles in Ladoga (upon river Volkhov, near its outlet into Lake Ladoga), and only after the death of his brothers moves to Novgorod. See **Лѣтопись по Ипатіевскому списку. Изданіе археографической коммиссіи**, стр. 11. Санктпетерб., 1871. Bielowski, Monumenta Poloniae historica, vol. i. p. 564. Lemberg, 1864. A. L. Schlözer, **Несторъ**, Russische Annalen, vol. i. p. 188 ff. Göttingen, 1802.

founded in that town an independent principality. Twenty years after, in 882, this principality was incorporated by Rurik's successor Oleg: by a stratagem he made himself master of the town and killed Askold and Dir, and from this time Kiev, 'the mother of all Russian towns,' as it was called, remained the capital of the Russian state and the centre of the Russian name.

Some details of minor importance in Nestor's account may be doubtful or need a critical sifting; in the third lecture I shall return to this question. But this circumstance does not influence the chief point, the express statement that the tribe that founded the Russian state and gave it its name, was of Scandinavian origin. For this tribe I will use in the sequel the name *Russ*, to distinguish them from the modern Slavonic *Russians*.

It is true that in many cases it is a difficult task for critics to re-establish the original wording of the so-called Nestorian text, in consequence of the peculiar manner in which the Russian chronicles have come down to us: each transcriber having at pleasure altered or added to the wording of the text, and the oldest manuscripts we possess not being of earlier date than the fourteenth century. But the statement of the chronicles as to the origin of the Russian state is one of the invariable points in them. It is not only common to all copies, but it runs like a red thread through the whole of the ancient history of Russia, and it must therefore have belonged even to the archetype itself of the chronicle, as it was penned at the beginning of the twelfth century. To suppose

that in the course of little more than two hundred years the tradition could have been falsified to such a degree, that the oldest chroniclers could have been completely mistaken, is absurd.

From the time historical critics first became acquainted with Nestor's account, that is to say from the beginning of the last century, until about fifteen or twenty years ago, scarcely any one ventured to doubt the accuracy of his statement. Plenty of evidence was even gradually produced from other sources to corroborate in the most striking manner the tradition of the Russian chronicles. A few voices, it is true, had been raised against it, and had advocated different views. Thus Ewers, a German savant [1], was pleased to turn the Varangians, who founded the Russian state, into Khazars, while several Slavonic scholars regarded them as Slavs from Prussia or Holsatia. But all their arguments were easily confuted and found but little credence. The descent of the ancient Russ from the Scandinavians seemed to be irrefutably established to the satisfaction of all sober students both Russian and foreign, especially since the Russian historian, M. Pogodin, whose death last year (1875) science has to lament, warmly defended it in a number of writings in his native tongue [2], and E. Kunik, Member of the Academy of St. Petersburg, with profound learning

[1] In his work Ursprung des Russischen Staats. Riga and Leipzig, 1808.

[2] E. g. О происхожденіи Руси (i. e. On the Origin of the Russ), Moscow, 1825. Изслѣдованія, замѣчанія и лекціи о древней русской исторіи (i. e. Researches, Remarks and Lectures on Ancient Russian History), vol. i–iii. ibid. 1846 ff.

had explained the philological side of the question in his important work entitled, 'Die Berufung der schwedischen Rodsen durch die Finnen und Slawen,' 2 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1844–45.)

In Russia itself, however, there was a party which still shrank from acknowledging the foreign origin of the Russian name by accepting this theory; and in 1859 a storm was raised against the so-called Northman or Scandinavian school. The attack was opened by V. Lamanski in a Russian work entitled 'On the Slavs of Asia Minor, Africa, and Spain,' in which the author advocated the Slavonic origin of the Russ; and in the following year (1860) a work was published by N. I. Kostomarov, 'On the Origin of Russia' (О началѣ Руси), which attempted to prove that the Varangians, who were called in by the Slavs and Finns in 862, were Lithuanians. Since that time a complete deluge of works and pamphlets have appeared in Russia, all intended to weaken the authority of the venerable Nestor, and to combat the arguments of the Scandinavian school[1]. That is really the only point on which the different authors are agreed. For the rest they differ materially in their opinions; most of them, however, advocate the Slavonic origin of the Russ, and, in direct contradiction to the unanimous testimony of all records, assume that they had always lived in southern Russia[2].

It would be wearisome to dwell longer on the

[1] A list of this literature is given by Kunik in Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale de St. Pétersbourg, vii. série, t. xxiii. pp. 279 ff., 409 ff.

[2] Comp. e.g. the Athenæum, July 27, 1872, p. 113 ff.

details of this literature. It is really but a slight portion of it that has any scientific value. I shall only name one author of this school whose work bears at least the impress of serious thought and much learning; I mean S. Gedeonov, who has written 'Researches on the Varangian Question[1].' By far the greater part of these writings are of such a nature as to possess no claim to be called scientific: any really scientific method is superseded by the vaguest and most arbitrary fancies, which appear to be inspired more by ill-judged national fanaticism than by serious desire to discover the truth. Every impartial reader must receive the impression that their only aim is, at any cost, to suppress the unpleasant fact that the origin of the Russian state was due to a foreign race of princes—as if such a circumstance could in any way be dishonouring to a great nation.

The new theories, here alluded to, have not failed to find contradiction even in Russia itself. The old champions, Pogodin and especially Kunik, have repeatedly entered the lists in defence of their favourite subject, and in one work after another have combated the vague fancies of their adversaries, and other scholars, not less temperate than the first mentioned, have intrepidly followed their example. It has certainly been acknowledged that the criticism of the anti-Scandinavianists has cast a new light upon some details of the question. But the chief question is quite uninfluenced hereby, and, generally speaking,

[1] Изслѣдованія о Варяжскомъ вопросѣ, printed as appendices to Записки Импер. Академіи наукъ. i–iii. St. Petersburg, 1862.

the theory of the Scandinavian origin of the Russ has not yet been shaken a hair's breadth.

However, it cannot be wondered that people who are not able themselves to judge the question profoundly and impartially may have received another impression from its discussion. Thus anti-Scandinavianism appears to have become almost an article of faith with Russian patriots, and has even found its way, as an incontestable fact, to certain class-books of Russian history. On the other side, the great number of discrepant opinions that have been put forth, in the eyes of many persons, have rendered the question so obscure and intricate that they begin to doubt the possibility of its being cleared up. Even so impartial a scholar as R. G. Latham[1] has not been able to come to a satisfactory solution, but in a very singular manner, that can be explained only by an imperfect knowledge of the details of the question, hesitates between different views, taking his exceptions to all of them. However he seems most inclined to regard the stock of the Russ as Goths, a view involving a confusion which cannot be sufficiently deprecated.

Under these circumstances it is certainly time that the question of the origin of the Russ should be subjected to a fresh discussion carried on according to the method of modern science, and that Scandinavian philologists especially should contribute to its solution. This is the task I have set myself in these lectures. I hope to be able to treat this subject without laying myself open to the accusation of undue partiality and

[1] The Nationalities of Europe, vol. i. p. 364 ff. London, 1863.

national prejudice, and to prove to your satisfaction that the tribe which in the ninth century founded the Russian state, and to whom the name Russ was originally applied, really were 'Northmen' or Scandinavians of Swedish origin.

This is not only the explicit tradition in Russia itself, handed down to us by the chronicles in the most clear and incontestable language, but it is also corroborated, directly or indirectly, by abundance of evidence from other sources, linguistic, historical, and archæological.

There are two literatures especially which have preserved most valuable notices respecting the Russ, and which therefore, together with the native chronicles, furnish us with the most important information with reference to our subject, viz. the literature of the Byzantine empire and that of Arabia.

From their first appearance in Russia the Russ carried on a lively intercourse with Greece[1]. The name by which the Greeks mention them is *Rhôs* (Ῥῶς) or *Rusioi* (Ῥούσιοι); this latter form however does not occur before the middle of the tenth century; till then the form Ῥῶς is exclusively used. The first time we meet with this name is in the year 839, in a passage which I shall review in my next lecture. There is really no suggestion which would lead us to suppose that the Greeks before that time had come into contact with the people they called *Rhôs*; their closer relation to them is even considerably later,

[1] Comp. Rambaud, L'Empire Grec au dixième siècle, p. 364 ff. Paris, 1870. Gibbon, The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, ch. lv. 3.

a fact which highly corroborates the approximate correctness, at least, of Nestor's chronology.

The anti-Scandinavianists have sought to prove that Greek documents recognise the existence of the Russ long before that time. Because they think they have proved Nestor untrustworthy with respect to his chronology, they conclude that his statement in general is a mere fiction. But apart from the injustice of such a conclusion, the proofs adduced are completely untenable. I will venture to speak of a passage of which much has been made. It is from a Greek author, Theophanes Isaakios (+817). He relates that the Greek emperor Constantine Copronymos, in the year 773, made war on the Bulgarians who dwelt near the Danube. He first dispatched a great army in 2000 galleys, and then himself sailed off on board some other galleys which are called *τὰ ῥούσια χελάνδια*[1]. These *ῥούσια χελάνδια* have been interpreted as 'the Russian galleys.' But we must observe that the word *ῥούσιος* in the signification of *Russian* is not to be found in Greek before the middle of the tenth century. Until that period those people were always called Ῥῶς, and the adjective formed from that word was *ῥωσικός*; in the next place it is expressly said that the Russ did not use 'chelandia,' which were a very large kind of ship, but that they always used small ships or boats[2]. The fact is simply this,

[1] *Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει μηνὶ Μαΐῳ ἰνδικτιῶνος ιβ' ἐκίνησε Κωνσταντινὸς στόλον χελανδίων δισχιλίων κατὰ Βουλγαρίας, καὶ εἰσελθὼν καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὰ ῥούσια χελάνδια ἀπεκίνησε πρὸς τὸ ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὸν Δανούβιον ποταμόν.* Theophanis Chronographia, ex recensione Jo. Classeni, vol. i. p. 691. Bonnae, 1839.

[2] 'Rusorum etenim naves ob parvitatem sui, ubi aquae minimum

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ῥούσιος is a common Greek word signifying *red*. We learn elsewhere that at that period the ships in which the Greek emperor sailed were painted red[1]; and the expression τὰ ῥούσια χελάνδια has nothing at all to do with the Russ, but only means 'the red (or imperial) galleys,' in opposition to the common war (or transport) galleys in which the army sailed[2]. Consequently this argument proves nothing[3]. It is incontestable that the first time the Greeks came in contact with the Russ, as far as we know, was in 838 or 839, and this is also the only time the name Russ is mentioned in any document before the time of Rurik[4].

But nearly thirty years elapsed before the Greeks, to their sorrow, made a closer acquaintance with this tribe of bold and bloodthirsty warriors. The Russ had scarcely got a footing on the banks of lake Ilmen

est, transeunt, quod Grecorum chelándia ob profunditatem sui facere nequeunt.' Liudprand, Antapodosis, lib. v. c. 15 (Pertz, Monumenta Germaniae histor., Scriptores, vol. iii. p. 331).

[1] Εἰς ῥούσιον ἀγράριον εἰσήρχετο., Constantine Porphyrog., de administrando Imperio, c. 51.

[2] The Roman Anastasius also, who in the latter half of the ninth century translated the Chronography of Theophanes into Latin (Historia ecclesiastica ex Theophane), and who had himself sojourned at Constantinople, renders thus the passage in question: 'et ingressus ipse in rubea chelandia motus est ad intrandum Danubium amnem' (Theophanis Chronographia, vol. ii. p. 243. Bonnae, 1841).

[3] Comp. Kunik in Mémoires de l'Académie Imp. des sciences de St. Pétersbourg, vii^e série, tom. xxiii. p. 222 ff. Some other supposed proofs of a similar kind, but still feebler, have been, as it seems to me, completely refuted by Kunik, particularly in his treatise О запискѣ готскаго топарха, in Записки имп. Академіи наукъ vol. xxiv. 1874.

[4] Comp. Rambaud, L'Empire Grec au dixième siècle, pp. 371, 372.

and the Dnieper, before the contiguous native tribes felt the might of these conquering invaders; and the splendour and wealth of Constantinople itself, the brilliant capital of the Oriental world, the heiress of Roman power and civilisation, soon attracted their greedy eyes, and for some time made the imperial city the longed-for goal of their expeditions.

In 865 the Russ started from Kiev, then ruled by Askold and Dir, went down the Dnieper, crossed the Black Sea, and having in the most cruel manner ravaged with fire and sword the coasts and isles of the Black Sea and the Propontis, suddenly appeared with a fleet of 200 vessels before the peaceful and unsuspecting capital which hitherto had at most held friendly intercourse with them, and only by rumour knew of their raids upon the neighbouring tribes. The consternation in the city was general. Nobody seems to have thought of defence, but with the emperor and the patriarch Photios at their head, the inhabitants had recourse to ceremonies and prayers to the Holy Virgin. And really the town was saved as it were by a miracle. A storm suddenly arose which destroyed the vessels of the heathen Russ, so that only a few of them escaped the general destruction. It is rather an interesting fact, that besides the accounts of the chronicles on this expedition, two direct documents concerning it have been preserved. A few years ago two sermons of the patriarch Photios, entitled 'On the occasion of the attack of the Rhos' (εἰς τὸν ἔφοδον τῶν Ῥῶς), were discovered in Russia; and an encyclical epistle from him to the Oriental bishops, written at the end of 866 with especial

reference to the same event, is in existence. In this epistle he mentions the people called Rhos, which (to use his own words) 'has often been spoken of by many, a people which surpasses all others in ferocity and bloodthirstiness. After having subdued the nations surrounding them, these Rhos have now carried their overweening pride so far as to raise their hands even against the Roman empire[1].' He adds, 'even these people have now left their heathen and ungodly religion, and are converted to Christianity, and they have received a bishop;' however, there is every reason for doubting whether this conversion was of any extent or durability[2].

The next expedition of the Russ was undertaken in 907 by Oleg, at the head of a fleet of 2000 vessels, and was crowned with more success. This time too they ravaged in the most cruel manner the coasts and suburbs of Constantinople, but the Greeks having barricaded the entrance to the city from the sea-side the Russ could not force their way into it, until, according to the relation of Nestor, who is our only authority for this expedition, Oleg had his ships dragged on shore and put on wheels; the wind filled the sails, and in this way they sailed on dry land towards the town. Confounded by the strange sight, the Greeks sent to Oleg, offering to pay him whatever tribute he

[1] Τὸ παρὰ πολλοῖς πολλάκις θρυλλούμενον ⟨ἔθνος⟩ καὶ εἰς ὠμότητα καὶ μιαιφονίαν πάντας δευτέρους τασσόμενον, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ καλούμενον τὸ Ῥῶς, οἱ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀρχῆς, τοὺς περιξ αὐτῶν δουλωσάμενοι, κἀκεῖθεν ὑπέρογκα φρονηματισθέντες, χεῖρας ἀντῆραν. Photii Epistolae ed. Richard. Montacutius, p. 58. Londini, 1651.

[2] Comp. Rambaud, L'Empire Grec au dixième siècle, p. 382 ff.

might demand. The Greeks were then obliged to disburse an enormous ransom, and to consent to a peace very advantageous to the Russ. Five years later the conditions of this peace were more exactly stipulated in a mutual treaty, the wording of which is handed down to us by Nestor.

The successor of Oleg was Igor, who in his turn undertook against the Greek empire two expeditions, of which several documents give us a description. The first took place in 941, and was particularly directed against the Asiatic coasts of the Black Sea. But it ended very unfortunately. The imperial army fell upon Igor, and the famous Greek fire especially caused dreadful destruction to his vessels, and spread panic among his people, of whom but a remnant returned home to tell their countrymen the issue of the expedition.

Thirsting for revenge, Igor assembled an enormous army, comprising both his subjects and hired troops, and in 944 again appeared off the Greek coasts with a numerous fleet; this time he won an easy victory. As soon as the Greeks had notice of the approach of the Russian army, they humbled themselves again and purchased for an enormous sum a peace, which, in the following year, was confirmed by a new treaty.

During the succeeding hundred years some other expeditions were undertaken by the Russ against the Greek empire, but with little success; after 1043 those attacks of the Russ cease altogether.

It was not, however, merely as pirates and warriors that the Russ came into contact with the Greeks.

What attracted them to Constantinople, far more than the uncertain chance of booty and tribute, was trade[1]. At the beginning of every summer great fleets of Russian merchantmen regularly arrived at the Greek capital. The wares they brought with them were chiefly the furs of all kinds which they had obtained from the tribes subject to them; also slaves, honey, &c.; in return Greece provided them with articles of luxury, ornaments of gold and silver, silk and other costly stuffs, specially what is called in Slavonic *pavolok*, in Old Norse *pell*, probably a kind of brocade; they also took the wines and the fruits of the South, &c. Of the extent and importance of this commerce we have plenty of proofs from different sources; I shall presently give an analysis of a very interesting passage upon this subject from an illustrious Greek author, the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus himself. The two treaties between the Russ and the Greeks, which I have already mentioned, also prove the great importance of the Russian trade, their chief purpose being to stipulate for the commercial privileges of the Russ; it is even possible that the later expeditions of the Russ against Greece were undertaken principally to secure those privileges[2].

Add to this that from the beginning of the tenth century the Russ often served in the Greek army and navy[3], and you will see that the Greeks had plenty of opportunities of becoming acquainted with that

[1] Comp. Rambaud, L'Empire Grec, pp. 386–387.

[2] Ibid., p. 374 f.

[3] Kunik in Mémoires de l'Acad. Imp. des sciences de St. Pétersbourg, vii^e série, tome xxiii. p. 36. Rambaud, L'Empire Grec, p. 387–390.

people. It is therefore no wonder that we exceedingly often find the '*Rhôs*' mentioned by Byzantine authors, and that we owe to the intercourse of the Russ with the Greeks some of the most decisive proofs of their Scandinavian nationality, which I shall mention in my next lecture.

Besides the Greeks there is another group of writers who give us much information with respect to the ancient Russ. I mean the Arabian, or rather the Mahomedan, authors; and the name by which they mention the Russ is *Rûs* (روس)[1].

The sketch of this tribe which the Oriental authors give us corresponds exactly with that presented to us by Greek writers. We find them represented as an extremely active, restless, and fool-hardy people, who, braving all dangers and difficulties, pressed forward far into the unknown regions of the East. Now they appear as peaceful merchants, now as bloodthirsty warriors who, like a flash of lightning, suddenly fall upon the unsuspecting inhabitants, plundering and murdering them, or carrying them away into captivity. Unlike the other warlike tribes who in those times were a terror to their neighbours, they never approached them by land, but always by sea, their only conveyance being their ships. From the land lying round the sources of the Volga they descended that river and traded with the Bulgarians; by the

[1] The notices upon the Russ and the Slavonians which are found in Mahomedan authors, are collected and translated into Russian by A. Harkavy in his book: Сказанія мусульманскихъ писателей о Славянахъ и Русскихъ. Собралъ, перевелъ и объяснилъ А. Я. Гаркави. Санктпетерб, 1870.

Dnieper they reached the Black Sea, which from about 900 to 1223 even bore the name of the Russian Sea, 'because, as Masudi the Arab (c. 940) says, none but the Russ navigate it.' But they did not even stop there. Through the Volga, which they sometimes reached from the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov by sailing up the Don and thence crossing to that river, they forced their way into the Caspian Sea. The first time they infested those regions was as early as c. 880. During the next hundred years the Russ undertook several expeditions thither, often in great swarms; thus we read in Masudi that in the year 913 they appeared in the Caspian Sea with a fleet of 500 ships, each containing 100 men.

It is worth noticing how early the expeditions of the Russ to these lands began, and how rapidly their name became known and feared in the East also. There is however nothing unreasonable in this, when we remember that even in 865 the Russ had ventured so far as to attack Constantinople. Yet nearly twenty years elapse from the date fixed by Nestor for the establishment of the Russian state, before the Oriental nations made acquaintance with that people.

On the other side it deserves notice that we do not find the Russ referred to by Oriental writers before that time. It is true, there were very few historical and geographical writers among the Arabs before that period; nevertheless there are at least five or six authors who mention the Slavs[1], but none of them

[1] The usual Arabian name of the Slavs is *Saklab* (صقلب, صقلاب), plural *Sakâlibah* (صقالبة), a form which is evidently borrowed from the Greek Σκλάβοι.

say a single word of the Russ. The most ancient of the Mahomedan authors who mention them wrote about the year 900[1].

Some of these authors have bequeathed to us most interesting sketches of manners and customs in ancient Russia. One of the earliest of these writers is Ibn Dustah (c. 912 A.D.)[2]. He tells us: 'The Russ dwell on a marshy island, surrounded by a lake, three days' journey (about 60 English miles) in circumference, and covered with swamps and forests; it is extremely unhealthy, and so marshy that the earth quivers when the foot is set to the ground. They have a prince who is called *Khakan-Rûs*. They attack the Slavs by ship, take them prisoner, and afterwards carry them to the Khazars and Bulgarians and sell them as slaves. They have no cornfields, but live on what they can plunder from the Slavs.

[1] The anti-Scandinavianists thought they had found a far earlier reference to the Russ. It was a passage in a Persian translation of an historical work by the Arabian Tabary, where, under the date of the year 643, a people is spoken of called *Rûs*, 'the enemies of all the world, especially of the Arabs,' as it is expressed. This passage has been quoted as a proof that the Russ had dwelt somewhere north of the Black Sea or the Caspian Sea long before the date given by Nestor. The passage in question, however, proves nothing; for it has been proved that this notice of the *Rûs* does not appear in the corresponding place in the Arabian original of Tabary himself. It was consequently interpolated by the Persian translator who wrote c. 963, and in whose time the Oriental nations had had ample opportunity to become acquainted with the Russ. See Dorn's Caspia, Mémoires de l'Acad. Impér. des sciences de St. Pétersbourg, vii^e série, tome xxiii. p. 28 ff., and Kunik, ibid., p. 233 ff.

[2] Published by Chwolson under the title: Извѣстія о Хозарахъ, Буртасахъ, Болгарахъ, Мадьярахъ, Славянахъ и Руссахъ Ибнъ-Даста. Санктпетб., 1869. Compare Harkavy, l. c. p. 260 ff., and Catalogus codicum manuscr. orientalium qui in Museo Britannico asservantur, pars ii. pp. 604–607. London, 1871, fol.

When a son is born to any one of them, the father throws a sword at him, saying, "I do not leave thee any property; thine is only what thou gainest with thy sword." They have neither real property nor towns nor fields; their only occupation is trading in all sorts of fur; they keep in their belts the money they receive for it. The men wear gold bracelets. If any of their tribes want assistance, all of them take the field; they do not separate, but fight unanimously against the enemy until they vanquish him. When any one goes to law with another, they plead before the king, and when the king has passed sentence, what he orders is performed. But when neither of the parties is satisfied with his decision, he orders them to settle the matter themselves with their swords: he whose sword is the sharper gains the cause. They are courageous and brave. When they attack another people, they do not cease till they have completely destroyed them; they ravish the vanquished, and make slaves of them. They are tall and look well, and show great boldness in their attacks; however, they do not exhibit their boldness on horseback, but undertake all their expeditions and attacks in ships. . . . They always wear their swords, because they have but little confidence in each other, and because fraud is very common among them; if any one succeed in acquiring property, to ever so slight an amount, even his brother or comrade immediately will envy him, and watch for an opportunity to kill and plunder him. When a man of quality dies, they make him a tomb in the shape of a large house, put him in there, and together with him they put into the same tomb his

clothes as well as the gold bracelets he has worn, and a quantity of victuals and vessels with drink and coins. Finally they put the favourite wife of the deceased alive into the barrow, fill up the entrance, and the woman dies in the enclosure.'

For the present I will only call your attention to the contrast, in Ibn Dustah's account, between the Russ themselves and the Slavs on whom they made war. Next we must observe that Ibn Dustah's sketch of the Russ in reality does not at all answer to their mode of living in his day; for then they dwelt in Kiev, and not upon an unhealthy remote island, and at that time their state was completely organized, politically speaking, and they were no mere plunderers as he has represented them.

It appears to me that we here have a statement from a second, perhaps even a third hand, the source of which dates from the time before the foundation of the Russian state, at which period the dwellings and mode of living of the Russ may have been such as he describes them. When the author says that their prince was called *Khakan-Rûs*, it seems to suggest that he may have derived his statement, directly or indirectly, from the Khazars, as *Khakan* is a Turkish or Tatar title which was really applied to their own princes by the Khazars themselves[1].

Another Arabian author who gives us a most remarkable, though in several points certainly exaggerated and uncritical, account of the Russ, is Ibn Fadhlan. In 921 and 922 he was sent to the Volga-

[1] Comp. A. Hatzuk in Труды перваго археолог. съѣзда въ Москвѣ. 1869, vol. i. p. 145 f.

Bulgarians as ambassador from the Kalif Muktadir, and during his stay there he often had an opportunity of seing the Russ when they came down the Volga to trade with the Bulgarians. Of this journey he left a description, of which fragments are preserved in the Geographical Dictionary of Yakut, under the article *Rûs*[1].

'I saw the Russ,' says Ibn Fadhlan, 'who had arrived with their wares, and had encamped upon the river Itil (Volga). Never saw I people of more perfect stature; they are tall like palm-trees, ruddy and fair-haired. They clothe themselves neither in jackets nor in kaftans, but the men wear a coarse cloak, which they throw over the one side, so that one of their hands is left free. Every man carries an axe, a knife, and a sword. Without these weapons they are never seen. Their swords are broad, streaked with wavy lines, and of Frankish workmanship. . . . . The women wear on the bosom a small capsule of iron, copper, silver, or gold, according to the wealth and standing of the husband. On the capsule is a ring, and on that a knife, fastened equally on the bosom. Round the neck they wear gold and silver chains. When a man possesses ten thousand dirhems (silver coins), he has a chain made for his wife; if he has twenty thousand, she gets two neck-chains, and in that way, as often as he becomes ten thousand dirhems richer, his wife receives another chain. Therefore a Russian woman often wears a great many chains round her neck. Their greatest ornament

[1] Frähn, Ibn-Foszlan's und anderer Araber Berichte über die Russen älterer Zeit. St. Petersburg, 1823, 4to.

consists of green glass beads, such as may be found in ships. They are very fond of them, and will pay a dirhem a piece for them and string them as neck-chains for their wives. They are the most uncleanly men that God has created. . . . They come from their country, anchor their ships in the Itil, which is a large river, and build on its shores large booths of wood. In such a booth ten or twenty of them live together, and each of them has a settle. . . . As soon as their ships have arrived at the anchoring-place, each of them goes on shore, taking with him bread, meat, onions, milk and spirituous drinks, and proceeds to an erect high pole carved to resemble a human face, and surrounded by small images, behind which other high poles are erected. When he arrives at the high wooden figure, he prostrates himself before it, saying: Oh, my Lord, I have come from afar and bring with me so many girls and so many sables. Having enumerated in this way all the wares he has brought, he continues: This present I have brought to thee. Then he leaves before the wooden image what he has brought, saying: I pray thee to grant me a purchaser well provided with gold and silver coins, who will buy all as I wish without bargaining. Having said this he goes off. When his business goes wrong and the time seems long to him, he comes back bringing a second and even a third present. If he cannot yet attain what he wishes, he brings a present for each of the small images, and entreats their intercession, saying: Are not these our Lord's wives, daughters and sons? If his business then prospers, and he sells all his wares, he says: My Lord has fulfilled my

wish; now it is my duty to make him a return. Then he offers to the gods a sacrifice of many oxen and sheep.'

Now follows a description of the funeral of a Russian chieftain, but it is too long to be given here *in extenso*. A chieftain of the Russ died during their stay there. First his slaves were asked, which of them would die with him? and one of the girls declared herself willing to do so. On the day of the funeral the corpse was taken on board the ship, and placed there within a kind of tent. Beside him were laid his weapon, and the bodies of several victims, among others two horses. Finally, the girl too was led thither and killed. Then the ship was set on fire, and ere an hour elapsed, all, both ship and corpses, had become the prey of the flames, and were reduced to ashes.

However interesting these different accounts of the Russ may be, as evidence of the manners and customs of ancient Russia, they cast generally but little light on the question of the nationality of the Russ. The vague signification which the Oriental nations gradually attached to the name *Rûs*, is one of the reasons for this. For it is evident that they very soon began to apply this name not only to the Russ properly speaking, but to all the people who belonged to the Russian kingdom, were they Scandinavians, Slavs, or Finns, that is, to all who came eastwards from beyond the Bulgarians and Khazars. We find a clear indication of this application of the word in a notice which is to be met with in several Arabian authors of the tenth century (the earliest being, it

appears, either Abu-Iskhak al-Istakhri or Abu-Zaid al-Balkhi, both c. 950. A.D.)[1]. They say as follows: 'The *Rûs* are divided into three tribes. The one is nearest the Bulgarians, and their king dwells in a town called *Kuyabah* (Kiev) which is larger than Bulgar. The second and more remote tribe is called *Selâviyah;* the third is called *Artaniah* (or *Barmaniah*?) and its king lives in *Arta* (?).' The first of the three tribes is evidently the Russ proper in Kiev; the second are Slavs, chiefly those of Novgorod; by the third is probably meant some Finnish tribe, but which of these is particularly referred to, is doubtful; whether the *Ersa*-Mordwins (?) or the *Permians*, in Anglo-Saxon *Beormas*, in Old Norse *Bjarmar* (?).

On account of the uncertainty which reigns in the terminology of Oriental authors, it cannot be doubted that many of the notices they give us of manners and customs in Russia, do not really refer to the Russ themselves, but now to one now to another of the tribes which were comprised under this name. Any theory whatever that has been proposed with regard to the nationality of the Russ has therefore been able to find specious support in Oriental authors. Under these circumstances it is necessary to use these writings with great caution, all the more as they certainly contain several exaggerations or misapprehensions. It is, however, incontestable that there are notices which can only apply to the Scandinavians,

[1] Frähn, Ibn-Foszlan, p. 141 ff. Harkavy, Сказанія &c, pp. 193, 197 ff., 276, &c. Chwolson, in Труды перваго археолог. съѣзда въ Москвѣ. 1869, i. p. 133 f.

and therefore may be properly used to support Nestor's account of the origin of the Russ.

I will return to this point in the next lecture, when I will review the evidence produced from different sources to prove that the Russ really were Scandinavians.

# LECTURE II.

## ON THE SCANDINAVIAN ORIGIN OF THE ANCIENT RUSS.

In the preceding lecture I sought to take a survey of the ethnography of ancient Russia; I gave you Nestor's relation of the foundation of the Russian state, and I added a description of its founders, the Russ, derived from Greek and Oriental sources.

I am now going to lay before you evidence from other sources to corroborate Nestor's account of the Scandinavian origin of the Russ. I freely confess that most of this evidence is by no means new; but considering the opposition which has been raised against this view, it cannot be too often repeated, and I hope also to be able to present to you fresher and more correct views as to some of the details of the subject than have hitherto been entertained.

As I have mentioned before, the Greek form of the name Russ is *Rhôs*, Ῥῶς (or *Rusioi*, Ῥούσιοι), and from the close of the ninth century Byzantine literature abounds in references to the Rhos. There is no doubt that the Greeks were thoroughly acquainted with this people, and it is evident that they well knew how to distinguish them from other neighbouring nations and particularly from the Slavs. But if we ask for the real nationality of the people to whom the Greeks applied the name *Rhôs*, Byzantine literature itself

gives us no direct and positive answer. A designation of them which sometimes occurs, is *Scyths* (Σκυθαί) or *Tauroscyths* (Ταυροσκυθαί); but that is a learned name, not a popular one, referring only to their dwelling in the territory of the ancient Scyths, north of the Black Sea, without reference to their nationality. A few of the Byzantine authors give us a little more definite suggestion on this subject, inasmuch as, in mentioning the expedition of 941, they design the Rhos as 'being of the race of the *Franks*,' i.e. of Teutonic race, for in this general signification the name Franks is sometimes used by the Byzantines[1].

But fortunately there are other ways of supplying this want. I shall begin by reviewing a series of passages from mediæval authors of Western Europe, which give us precise information upon the ethnographical meaning of the Greek word *Rhôs*. The unanimous testimony of these documents is that by this name the Greeks denoted the same people which elsewhere in Europe was so well known under the common name of *Northmen*.

The first time we find the *Rhos* mentioned is in the

[1] Leontios (continuator Theophanis) in describing the expedition of 941 mentions *οἱ Ῥῶς οἱ καὶ Δρομῖται λεγόμενοι, οἱ ἐκ γένους τῶν Φράγγων καθίσταντται*. Exactly the same expressions are used by Georgios Hamartolos in an unedited manuscript in the Vatican library (Gedeonov, О варяжскомъ вопросѣ, i. p. 74), and by the so-called Simeon Logothetes who certainly has transcribed Leontios. Comp. Kunik, Berufung der schwed. Rodsen, ii. p. 394 ff., 409 ff. On the Byzantine use of the word *Franks* comp. Kunik, l. c. p. 388, and Mémoires de l'Acad. Imp. de St. Pétersbourg, vii série, tome xxiii. p. 29. The name *Dromitai* is explained by Kunik, Beruf. ii. p. 405, О записке готскаго топарха, in the Записки Акад. Наукъ., xxiv. p. 114 ff and in Mémoires de l'Acad. Imp., vii série, xxiii. p. 400.

so-called *Annales Bertiniani* for the year 839[1]. The portion of these annals in which this notice is found, and which includes the years from 835 to 861, is due to the bishop of Troyes, Prudentius, a learned and conscientious man, whose work ranks among the best and most trustworthy of that time. He tells us that in the year 839 there came to the emperor Louis the Pious Greek ambassadors, sent by the Byzantine emperor Theophilos, who brought with them a letter, together with costly presents. The emperor received them most honourably at Ingelheim on the 18th May. Together with them, continues Prudentius, he sent some persons 'who said that they, —that is to say their nation,—were called *Rhos*, and whom their own king, Chacanus by name, had sent to him for friendship's sake, as they asserted;' now he begged the emperor in the said letter, that they might travel under his protection through the whole of his empire, as he would not allow them to return by the same way they had come, because they were obliged to pass through rough and barbarous tribes of the utmost ferocity. But inquiring more exactly the reason of their coming, *he learned that they were of Swedish nationality*, and supposing that they had come rather as spies than in search of friendship, he resolved to detain them near him, until he could discover whether their intention were honest or not.

[1] The first who called attention to this passage was Th. S. Bayer in his Origines Russicae (Commentationes Academiae Scient. Petropolitanae, viii 1736, p. 388). Since then it has been discussed innumerable times. See especially Kunik, Die Berufung der schwed. Rodsen, ii. p. 195 ff.

Hereupon he sent information to the Greek emperor through his ambassadors[1].

The meaning of this passage seems to me to be quite clear. The people whose king sent ambassadors to the Greek emperor, and with whose existence the Greeks perhaps for the first time became acquainted, was called Rhos at Constantinople; whether they really used this name in their own language, or only were called so by others, is a question to which I shall afterwards return; here it is of no consequence. Under the same name, Rhos, the emperor Theophilos in his turn introduced them to Louis the Pious in the letter with which he had furnished his ambassadors, and which was of course written in Greek. That Prudentius refers to this letter is evident from his writing *Rhos*, that plainly gives us the Greek form

[1] 'Venerunt legati Graecorum a Theophilo imperatore directi . . . . ferentes cum donis imperatore dignis epistolam; quos imperator quinto decimo Kal. Junii in Ingulenheim honorifice suscepit. . . . Misit etiam cum eis quosdam *qui se, id est gentem suam, Rhos vocari dicebant*, quos rex illorum, Chacanus vocabulo, ad se amicitiae, sicut asserebant, causa direxerat, petens per memoratam epistolam, quatenus benignitate imperatoris redeundi facultatem atque auxilium per imperium suum totum habere possent, quoniam itinera per quae ad illum Constantinopolim venerant, inter barbaras et nimiae feritatis gentes immanissimas habuerant, quibus eos, ne forte periculum inciderent, redire noluit. Quorum adventus causam imperator diligentius investigans, *comperit eos gentis esse Sueonum*, exploratores potius regni illius nostrique quam amicitiae petitores ratus, penes se eo usque retinendos judicavit quod veraciter invenire posset, utrum fideliter eo necne pervenerint; idque Theophilo per memoratos legatos suos atque epistolam intimare non distulit, et quod eos illius amore libenter susceperit; ac si fideles invenirentur, et facultas absque illorum periculo in patriam remeandi daretur, cum auxilio remittendos; sin alias, una cum missis nostris ad ejus praesentiam dirigendos, ut, quid de talibus fieri deberet, ipse decernendo efficeret.' Pertz, Monumenta Germ. Hist., Script., i. p. 434.

Ῥῶς[1]. But this name being at that time yet unknown in the whole of the West, it was necessary to make more exact inquiries of the ambassadors, and the result was that those persons who in the letter of the Greek emperor were designated as Rhos turned out to be Swedes, and consequently belonged to a branch of those Northmen whom the Franks at that time knew but too well, and had every reason to suspect. Herein lies, then, the very natural explanation of the emperor's precautions against them. The inference to be drawn from this passage consequently is, that *Rhos*, Ῥῶς, was the Greek name of the Swedes.

It is not said where the home of those Rhos was situated. It was perhaps somewhere in Sweden itself; but it might be, too, that we have to do here with some emigrated tribe, already settled beyond the Baltic or the Gulf of Bothnia. At any rate, the ambassadors had evidently gone to Greece through what is now Russia, probably by the Dnieper, and it was by this road, really infested by a number of barbarous tribes, that the emperor would not allow them to return.

One thing is remarkable, namely, that the king of the Rhos is said to be called *Chacanus*. It has been very much disputed whether this is his name or his title. I have no doubt, however, that, at least in the original Greek letter, it was meant to be the title *khagan* or *khakan*, which I have mentioned several times in the first lecture. But if we will ask how the

[1] Compare also the expression 'quos rex ad se direxerat,' where the word *se* shows that this notice is not due to Prudentius himself, but is a quotation of the words of the Greek emperor.

Greek court came to give him this foreign title, there is certainly a wide scope for guessing. The most probable explanation is, it seems to me, that the Greeks confounded the Rhos with the Khazars, Avars, and other northern barbaric tribes[1], and therefore applied to the king of the Rhos the same title which the king of the Khazars bore[2]. This is so much the less to be wondered at, as these Swedes can only have reached the Black Sea through the land of the Khazars, and may even have been conducted to Constantinople and introduced at the Byzantine court by Khazars. In any case, no inference can be drawn from this appellation with respect to the nationality of the Rhos.

I cannot omit briefly to refer to the attempts of the anti-Scandinavianists to weaken this proof of the signification of the name Rhos. They cannot, of course, deny that the persons spoken of by Prudentius

[1] Compare a passage as this: *εἴτε Χάζαροι εἴτε Τοῦρκοι εἴτε καὶ Ῥῶς ἢ ἕτερόν τι ἔθνος τῶν βορείων καὶ Σκυθικῶν*, Constantine Porphyrogen., de administrando Imperio, ed. Bonn. p. 82.

[2] The same usage is suggested by a letter from Louis II, written in 871 to the Greek emperor Basilios, in which he rejects the protest of the latter against the Frankish kings calling themselves emperors, and protests, in his turn, against the claim the Greek emperors laid to the monopoly of the title *βασιλεύς* ('*βασυλεως* vocabulum'); he reproaches them because they refused to call foreign kings so, and applied for instance the title *chaganus* to the kings of the Avars, the Gazans or the Northmen ('praelatum Avarum, Gazanorum aut Nortmannorum' — the last name answering evidently to the Greek *τῶν Ῥῶς*). See Pertz, Monumenta Germ. Hist., vol. iii. p. 523. Comp. the above mentioned notice in Ibn Dustah upon *Khakan-Rûs* (p. 31), which may also have passed through a Greek authority. It is only much later, after the complete destruction of the Khazarian empire, that we find some solitary instances of the title *kagan* being applied in Slavonic documents to the Russian grand-dukes Vladimir (+ 1015) and Yaroslav (+ 1054).

are Swedes, and their object therefore must be to show that the passage in question does not prove the identity of the names Rhos and Swedes; but, on the contrary, suggests a difference between them. The attempted explanations which have been given to this effect are extremely far-fetched. On one hand, it has been asserted that these persons may have been Swedes who, coming accidentally to Constantinople, had taken it into their heads to give themselves out to be ambassadors from the king of the Rhos, and that the Frankish emperor may have been the first to discover how matters stood. But this supposition is not borne out by any statement in the document itself. It is, on the contrary, highly improbable. Why should they take it into their heads to give themselves out to be ambassadors? It has been replied that, of course, their intention was fraudulently to obtain for themselves such presents as it was customary to offer to ambassadors. But even if that be the case, why did they not represent themselves to be ambassadors from their own nation instead of another? They could as well, or even better, have obtained the supposed advantages of their deception without such double masquerading, by which, indeed, they really gained nothing, but only made the part they tried to play doubly difficult and the danger of discovery doubly great. This supposition is in the highest degree far-fetched and improbable. According to another theory, which was first propounded in the last century, and has been lately revived by Gedeonov, these persons are supposed to be Swedes who were accidentally serving at the court of 'the

Russian Khagan,' and were sent by him as ambassadors to Constantinople; they had, therefore, a perfect right to represent themselves, in Constantinople, to be Rhos, though they themselves really belonged to another nationality. But this explanation is as untenable as it is far-fetched. In the first place, it is quite opposed to Prudentius' plain words, as the expressions 'qui se id est *gentem suam Rhos* vocari dicebant,' and 'eos *gentis* esse *Sueonum*,' are quite parallel, and it is also said that it is their own king (rex illorum) who sent them. In the next place, this interpretation is entirely opposed to the customs and ideas of that period, and leaves unexplained the question which in that case must first and foremost be cleared up, viz. how, in the ninth century, in an epoch when it was an unheard-of thing that Scandinavians should take service under a foreign non-Scandinavian prince, a 'Russian' (i. e. Slavonic) 'Khagan' in Kiev should employ Swedes as his ambassadors. Such a circumstance would necessarily suggest a relationship between the Russ and the Swedes; and consequently, even if this hypothesis were not in itself untenable, the conclusion to be drawn from it, at all events, would be quite other than that which its propounders would desire.

I am convinced that every impartial reader will see at once how strained and forced these explanations are, and acknowledge that the only simple and natural interpretation of the passage in Prudentius is, that Rhos was the Greek designation for the Scandinavians or Northmen, who in this case happened to be Swedes.

This passage is the most ancient in which the name *Russ* is mentioned, and it is the only occasion on

which we meet with it before Rurik's time. The conclusion we draw from it is most evidently corroborated by documents of a rather more recent date. There are several Latin writers who in mentioning some of the expeditions of the Russ against Constantinople, expressly identify them with the people who, in the Roman-Teutonic world, were called *Normanni*.

Of the expedition which took place in 865, Venetian chronicles have preserved some short notices [1]. It is true, the oldest of these chronicles is more than a century younger than the event itself; it is written by Johannes Diaconus, who lived at the close of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century. But just as the notice given by him has again been transcribed by later chroniclers, so there can be no doubt that it is founded on an authentic contemporary account. It must be remembered, as Mr. Kunik observes, that the Venetians, from an early date, carried on an extensive trade in the Mediterranean, and that above all they held lively commercial and diplomatic intercourse with the capital of the Byzantine empire which exercised even at those times, at least in name, a sort of supremacy over the proud republic. Under these circumstances, the almost incredible event which took place in that year, the attack of Russian pirates on Constantinople itself, must very early have become known at Venice, from citizens who had been eye-witnesses of it, and from some such account the notice of the chronicler Johannes Diaconus must have been derived. He says, without stating the year, but in connection with events which took place about

[1] Kunik, Mémoires de l'Acad. Imp., vii. série, tome xxiii. pp. 230–232.

865, that 'at that time Northmen ventured to attack the city of Constantinople with 360 vessels; but not being able to injure the impregnable city itself, they fought gallantly in the suburbs and killed as many people as possible, after which they returned home in triumph[1].' Notwithstanding some difference between the details in this account and that of Nestor and the Byzantine authors, it is obvious that the Northmen of Johannes Diaconus and the Rhos of the Greeks are identical; no other people of that period will answer to the description.

If, nevertheless, any one should call this conclusion in question, every doubt must vanish, if we compare a passage or two of another Italian author, the Lombard Liudprand, who from 963 was bishop of Cremona. He had been twice at Constantinople, first between the years 948 and 950 as ambassador from king Berengarius II, and afterwards for four months in 968 as ambassador from the emperor Otto I. Consequently he had had a good opportunity of making himself familiar with the affairs of the Byzantine empire, and the accounts he has left us of his travels contain many important statements as to this subject.

[1] 'Eo tempore Normannorum gentes cum trecentis sexaginta navibus Constantinopolitanam urbem adire ausi sunt. Verum quia nulla racione inexpugnabilem ledere valebant urbem, suburbanum fortiter patrantes bellum quam plurimos ibi occidere non pepercerunt, et sic predicta gens cum triumpho ad propriam regressa est.' (Pertz, Monumenta Germ. Hist., Script., vii. p. 18.) With almost the same words, evidently based upon the account of Johannes Diaconus, the event is related by the Doge Andrew Dandulo (+1354) in his Chronicum Venetum, lib. viii. c. 4, pars 41 (Muratori, Rerum Ital. Scriptores, xii. p. 181. Mediolani, 1728, fol.): 'Per haec tempora Normannorum gentes CCCLX navibus aggressi sunt Constantinopolim, et suburbana impugnant multosque occidunt et cum gloria redeunt.'

In one place he enumerates the nations that lived north of the Greek empire, and among them he also mentions 'the Russ (*Rusii*) whom we with another name call Northmen[1].' In another place he gives us a description of the unfortunate expedition of Igor in 941, quoting as his authority his own step-father who at that time had been present at Constantinople as the ambassador of the Italian king Hugo, and who with his own eyes had seen Russian prisoners decapitated by command of the Greek emperor Romanos. Here he uses almost the same expressions about the Russ, saying: 'There is a people living in the north, whom from some personal quality the Greeks call *Rusii*[2], while from the situation of their native place we call them Northmen. King of this people was Inger, who came to Constantinople with more than a thousand vessels, &c.[3]'

[1] 'Habet quippe (Constantinopolis) ab aquilone Hungarios, Pizenacos, Chazaros, Rusios quos alio nos nomine Nordmannos appellamus, atque Bulgaros nimium sibi vicinos.' Pertz, Monumenta Germ. Hist., Scriptores, vol. iii. p. 277.

[2] This remark is founded on a wrong etymology, the name of the Russ being confounded with the Greek adjective ῥούσιος, 'red, red-haired.'

[3] 'Quoniam meus vitricus, vir gravitate ornatus, plenus sapientia, regis Hugonis fuerat nuntius, pigrum michi non hic sit inserere quid eum de imperatoris sapientia et humanitate, et qualiter Rusios vicerit, audivi sepius dicere. Gens quaedam est sub aquilonis parte constituta quam a qualitate corporis Greci vocant *Rúsios*, nos vero a positione loci nominamus *Nordmannos*. Lingua quippe Teutonum *Nord* aquilo, *man* autem dicitur homo, unde et Nordmannos aquilonares homines dicere possumus. Hujus denique gentis rex vocabulo *Inger* erat, qui collectis mille et eo amplius navibus Constantinopolim venit. . . . Inger ingenti cum confusione postmodum ad propria est reversus. Greci vero victoria potiti, vivos secum multos ducentes, Constantinopolim regressi sunt laeti, quos omnes Romanós in praesentia Hugonis nuntii, vitrici scilicet mei, decollari praecepit.' Pertz, Monum. iii. p. 331.

These words are perfectly clear, and leave no doubt as to the signification still borne by the name Russ among the Greeks in Liudprand's time. The efforts made to elude this proof are of such a nature that it is unnecessary for me to refute them in detail. On the one hand, it is affirmed that the name *Northmen* might very well have been applied to the Slavs, as they also dwelt in the north. But this is absolutely false, for *Northmen*, *Normanni* was, in the middle ages, the specific denomination of the Scandinavians[1]; just as in our days, for instance, 'the North Sea' designates a particular sea, not any sea whatever which may happen to lie in the north. On the other hand, the supposition is brought forward that the Russ who were executed in the presence of Liudprand's step-father were perhaps merely Scandinavian auxiliaries serving in the Russian army, and that he may hence have concluded that all Russ were Northmen. But the information Liudprand received from his step-father is merely an intelligence of the victory of the Greeks over the Russ, and the revenge they took upon them; as far as their nationality is concerned, he had ample opportunity of forming his own opinion, as he in several passages speaks of having seen them during his stay in Greece. The whole of this argument is based on such frivolous scepticism that there is nothing in the world that might not be called in question with such unscientific reasoning.

Thus, from the passages already quoted we see that the name *Rhos* (Ῥῶς) or *Rusioi* (Ῥούσιοι) was employed

[1] Comp. Joh. Steenstrup, Normannerne. I. Indledning i Normannertiden, p. 50 ff. Kjöbenhavn, 1876.

by the Greeks in the ninth and tenth centuries to designate the same nation which, in Western Europe, was generally called *Normanni*, i.e. Northmen or Scandinavians; the latter name being as little known among the Greeks as the former was in Western Europe. But the name *Rhos*, *Rusioi*, the Slavonic *Rus'*, belongs, geographically speaking, κατ' ἐξοχὴν to the ruling tribe in Kiev, and, consequently, this same tribe can only have been an eastern ramification of the Northmen,—the sole representatives of that nationality with whom the Greeks had an opportunity of becoming acquainted.

Before proceeding to speak of that highly important passage in a Greek author which gives us a most decisive proof of this fact, I will first cast a glance at the mention made of the Russ or *Rûs* by Oriental authors. What we can adduce from them is, however, of inferior value, in comparison with what we owe to the Greeks.

I have before mentioned that the Oriental authors use the name *Rûs* in so vague and uncertain a manner that we can scarcely draw any decisive inference from them as to the nationality of the people to which this name properly belonged. On this point it is evident the Orientals themselves had but very indistinct ideas.

It is nevertheless incontestable that many passages occur in which the Rûs are not only distinguished from the Slavs, but are also characterised in a manner that can apply to the Scandinavians alone. I will only remind you of what is told us by Ibn Dustah of the mode of living and manners of the Russ: how they dwelt in a marshy island, how they

piratically attacked the Slavs, and how they only engaged in trade and war; how they made all their expeditions by ship instead of on horseback; also how he describes their internal strife and contentions, while, at the same time, they displayed implicit obedience and concord when in the presence of their enemies; how he draws their duels, their courage, their cruelty to the conquered, their tall stature, their beauty, &c.[1] The same may be said of several passages in Ibn Fadhlan's description of the Russ; for he depicts them as 'tall like palm-trees, ruddy and fair-haired, armed with axes, swords and knives of Frankish workmanship;' and though some of the other characteristic traits of the mode of living of the Russ adduced by him are certainly somewhat exaggerated and embellished, yet unquestionably under several of them we catch glimpses of manners and customs especially peculiar to the Scandinavians; as, for instance, where he describes, evidently somewhat fantastically, how the body of a chieftain was placed upon a ship and burnt. From all this it is clear that, however indefinite the application of this name Russ by the Mahomedan authors may be, there can be no doubt that it is applied chiefly to the Scandinavians. There can, therefore, be no doubt that the name Russ, when it first reached the Mahomedans, bore the same signification as the corresponding name in Slavonic and Greek, viz. a designation of the Northmen, especially of those who had settled in Russia.

There is only one passage in an Arabian author in

[1] Comp. especially Steenstrup, Indledning i Normannertiden, pp. 263 ff., 351 ff., 289 f., 325 ff., 367 ff., 143, 361.

which the Russ are clearly identified with the Northmen. It is by Ahmed al-Ya'kûbi al-Kâtib, an author who wrote shortly after the year 890[1]. He says that in 844 'heathens (*Majûs*) who are called Rûs, attacked Seville and plundered and ravaged, and burned and murdered.' Now we learn elsewhere that the coasts of Spain were really visited in that year by a host of Northmen, who had previously ravaged different parts of France, and it must be to them the author refers as the people who are called Rûs. The question is, however, how came he to give this name to these Northmen? For, of course, they did not call themselves so. Is this passage derived from some Greek authority? or, rather, has not the author—or perhaps some later transcriber—transferred the name Russ which, from about A.D. 880, was well known in the East, to the Northmen whose conduct in Spain was exactly similar to that of the Russ on the coast of the Caspian and the Black Sea? The Arabian Masudi (c. 920—950) does so: after referring to this very attack of the 'heathens' on Spain he adds, as his own private opinion: 'I believe that these people were Rûs: for none but they sail on this sea (the Black sea) which communicates with the ocean (*Ukianus*).' On account of this doubt, therefore, neither the passage from Ahmed al-Kâtib nor that from Masudi can be adduced as positive proof that the Russ, the Rûs of the Arabians, were Northmen. Both these passages, however, show clearly that the Arabians themselves must

[1] See Frähn in Bulletin scientifique publ. p. l'Acad. Imp. de St. Pétersbourg. Tome iv. No. 9, 10, 1838. Kunik, Berufung der Schwed. Rodsen, vol. ii. p. 285 ff. Harkavy, Сказанія, &c., p. 59 ff.

have had an impression that the Northmen who devastated the west were the same people as those they called Rûs.

But I return to the Greeks, in order to mention one of the most remarkable and instructive passages upon the Russ which can be found in any contemporary author. It is the ninth chapter of the work of the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus on the administration of the Greek empire (de administrando Imperio), written about 950. This chapter is entitled 'Of the Rhos who come from Russia to Constantinople with their boats[1];' and what makes it so precious to us is the fact that it is the only document we have which gives us a direct specimen of the language of the ancient Russ.

The boats (*μονόξυλα*), he tells us, that go to Constantinople, from 'exterior Russia' (*ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξω Ῥωσίας*, i. e. the land beyond Kiev), come from Novgorod (*ἀπὸ τοῦ Νεμογαρδάς*), from Smolensk (*Μιλινίσκα*), Lubetch (*Τελιούτζα*), Tchernigov (*Τζερνιγώγα*), and Vyshegrad (*Βουσεγραδέ*), and go down the Dnieper, until they meet near Kiev (*Κιοάβα*), which is also called *Sambatas* (*Σαμβατάς*). Here their number is considerably augmented by new boats, for which the materials have been floated down the lakes and rivers from the more woody territories of different Slavonic tribes which are tributary to the Rhos. When these boats have been fitted out, they start from Kiev in the month of June, after which all the boats assemble near the fortress Vytitchev (*Βιτετζέβη*) in order to pass in com-

[1] *Περὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωσίας ἐρχομένων Ῥῶς μετὰ τῶν μονοξύλων ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει.*

pany that long series of rapids (in modern Russian *porogi*, literally, thresholds, dams), which the Dnieper forms for a distance of about fifty English miles from a little below the modern town of Yekaterinoslav[1]. It was not nature only that made the passage of these rapids dangerous, but they were also infested by neighbouring tribes of depredatory nomads (especially the Petchenegs), always ready for attack. The passage therefore needed the utmost circumspection, and it was not advisable to venture upon it save with a numerous caravan. Of this passage Constantine gives us a short description, enumerating seven of the rapids and giving their names in two languages, Slavonic (Σκλαβινιστί) and Russ (Ῥωσιστί). The explanation of these names has occupied philologers and historians for more than a century[2]. The Slavonic names are really pure Slavonic, and some of them completely agree with the modern Russian

[1] Comp. Description d'Ukranie qui sont plusieurs Prouinces du Royaume de Pologne, &c., par le Sieur de Beauplan, pp. 19–21. Rouen, 1660, 4to. Lehrberg, Untersuchungen zur Erläuterung der älteren Geschichte Russlands, p. 319 ff. St. Petersburg, 1816, 4to. J. Ch. Stuckenberg, Hydrographie des Russischen Reiches, iii. p. 252 ff. St. Petersburg, 1847.

[2] Th. S. Bayer in Commentarii Academiae Scient. Imper. Petropolitanae, tom. ix. ad annum 1737 (1744), p. 392 ff. Strube, Dissertation sur les anciens Russes, 1785. J. Thunmann's Untersuchungen über die Geschichte der östlichen europäischen Völker, vol. i. p. 386 ff. Leipzig, 1774. Lehrberg, l. c., p. 350 ff. K. Zeuss, Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme, p. 556 ff. München, 1837. Kunik, Die Berufung der schwedischen Rodsen, vol. ii. pp. 425–438. P. A. Munch, Samlede Afhandlinger udgivne af. G. Storm. vol. ii. p. 189 f. Christiania, 1874 (1849). C. Rafn, Antiquités de l'Orient, pp. vii–viii. Copenhague, 1856. Kunik in Mémoires de l'Acad. Imp. des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg, vii^e série, tome xxiii. pp. 414, 415. 1875.

names of the rapids, though the form in which Constantine has transmitted them to us is sometimes influenced by the Bulgarian or Old Slavonic idiom which must have been the most current among the different Slavonic idioms at the Byzantine court. But the other set of names, those which Constantine gives us as the Russ, are quite different from them, and form a group which is highly interesting to us and important for our purpose. For every one who has the least notion of languages and is not blinded by prejudice must own that they are pure Scandinavian, and cannot be explained through any other language.

I shall try to give an analysis of these names.

First, says the author, the travellers come to the rapid called *Essupi*, which in Russ and Slavonic signifies 'do not sleep' (*πρῶτον μὲν ἔρχονται εἰς τὸν πρῶτον φραγμὸν τὸν ἐπονομαζόμενον* Ἐσσουπῆ, *ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται* Ῥωσιστὶ *καὶ* Σκλαβινιστὶ *μὴ κοιμᾶσθαι*). Such a warning as is contained in these words would really be no unreasonable name for the first rapid with which the long series of dangers begins. One thing appears strange, when we compare this name with the following names: the author seems to suggest that the Russ and the Slavonic name were the same. But when we consider that all the other rapids have double names of a quite different nature, there can be no doubt that there must be an error in this passage, and that one of the names has been omitted. It has long been agreed that that given by Constantine is the Slavonic name. The pure Slavonic translation of the phrase 'do not sleep' is *ne s'pi* (не съпи);

and this form we really can obtain by a very slight change, if we suppose, as has been suggested long ago, *Essupi* to be miswritten for *Nessupi*. That an *n* has been dropped at the beginning of the word is all the more likely and excusable, as the preceding word of the text ends in *n*. What the Russ name was, we do not know; but as from all the following names we are entitled to suppose that it was of Scandinavian origin, it must, if it had the same form and signification as the Slavonic, have been something like *sof eigi* or *sofattu*, the Old Norse form of this phrase.

The second rapid is called in Russ *Ulvorsi*, in Slavonic *Ostrovuniprakh*, which is explained as 'the islet of the rapid' (*κατέρχονται εἰς τὸν ἕτερον φραγμὸν τὸν ἐπιλεγόμενον Ῥωσιστὶ μὲν Οὐλβορσί, Σκλαβινιστὶ δὲ Ὀστροβουνίπραχ, ὅπερ ἑρμηνεύεται τὸ νησίον τοῦ φραγμοῦ*). This name is quite clear. The Slavonic form is the Old Slavonic *ostrov'nyi prag'* (островьный прагъ), *ostrov'nyi* being an adjective derived from *ostrov'*, an isle, and *prag'*, modern Russian *poróg'*, a rapid. Constantine's translation 'the islet of the rapid' is not quite correct; the words ought to be reversed: 'the Islet-fall.' The Russ name perfectly agrees with this interpretation. It is evidently the Scandinavian *Holm-fors*, a compound of the common Scandinavian word *holm*, Old Norse *hólmr*[1], a holm, an islet; and *fors* the Scandi-

[1] The Grecian form Οὐλ- may be compared with the lateral form *hulm*, which occurs in several old Swedish documents and still exists in some Swedish dialects. The nasal *m* may have been pronounced rather indistinctly before *f*; thus in several Runic inscriptions from Sweden the name *Holm-fastr* is written HULFASTR, for instance, in Dybeck

navian word for a waterfall, a rapid, 'a force.' Between the first rapid, and that which Constantine gives us as the third, there are in reality two rapids; the first of them of which the modern name is *Surski*, is not very important; but the second, now called *Lokhanski*, is one of the most dangerous of them all. As these two rapids succeed each other at a slight distance, it is possible that both of them were comprised under the ancient name '*Holm-force*.' As to the origin of this name, it may have been derived either from three rocky isles, situated just above the *Lokhanski*[1], or rather from an isle, about one English mile long, and covered with oaks and other trees, which is characteristic of the *Surski*[2].

With reference to the third rapid Constantine says that it is called '*Gelandri*, which means in Slavonic the resonance of the rapid' (*τὸν τρίτον φραγμὸν τὸν λεγόμενον Γελανδρί, ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται Σκλαβινιστὶ ἦχος φραγμοῦ*). This passage has evidently been a little corrupted; for not merely does it give us only one name, but this one name must also have been assigned to the wrong language. For *Gelandri* can be only the Old Norse participle *gellandi* (or *gjallandi*), 'the echoing, the resounding'[3]. The author consequently here makes a

Sverikes Runurkunder, 1860 ff., Upland, No. 18, 114, 140, etc. (ibid., No. 146, HULMNFASTR; ibid., Stockholmslän, No. 173, HULMFASTR).

[1] This is the opinion of Lehrberg, l. c., pp. 325, 356.

[2] 'Neben einer mit Eichen und anderen Bäumen bewaldeten Insel.' Stuckenberg, l. c., p. 254. Comp. Lehrberg, l. c., p. 324.

[3] This name brings to mind similar names in the Scandinavian countries, as *Rjúkandi*, 'the reeking, smoking,' a waterfall in Norway; *Skjálfanda-fljót*, 'the trembling river' in Iceland; *Rennandi*, 'the running,' a mythic river, in the Edda (Grímnismál 27) &c.

slight error in his translation, similar to the one he made in the preceding name, in so much that he renders *Gelandri* 'the resonance of the rapid' instead of 'the resounding rapid.' While in the account of the first rapid the Russ name is wanting, it is here the Slavonic name which has been omitted by the transcriber [1]. What it was, we cannot of course state with certainty, but in all probability it must have been something like the modern Russian name of this very rapid *Zvonets*, (*Zvonski, Zvonetski,*) which has just the same meaning as the one name given us, viz. 'the resounding.' At this place the water is said really to rush with such a noise and roaring, that it can be heard very far off [2].

After this we arrive at the fourth rapid, 'the large,' which is called in Russ *Aïfar*, in Slavonic *Neasit*, as Constantine says, because the pelicans have their nests on the stones of the rapid (*τὸν τέταρτον φραγμόν,*

[1] According to the conjecture of Kunik (l. c., ii. p. 430) the original wording of the text may have been: *τὸν λεγόμενον* [*Ῥωσιστὶ μὲν*] **Γελανδρί, Σκλαβινιστὶ** [*δὲ . . .*], *ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται*, &c.

[2] 'Hundert Faden unterhalb dieses Falles engt sich das Strombett bis auf 300 Faden ein, und die rauschenden, an die Felsen anprallenden Wogen verursachen ein solches Gebrause, dass es weit in die Ferne hallt. Vermuthlich rührt daher der Name des Swonetz d. h. des klingenden.' Stuckenberg, l. c., p. 254. Compare Lehrberg, l. c., p. 327, and W. Szujew, Beschreibung seiner Reise von St. Petersburg nach Cherson, i. p. 181 (Dresden and Leipzig, 1789), who writes: 'Wir trafen den Szwonezkischen Wasserfall, der sich uns schon von weiten durch sein Rauschen ankündigte. . . . . Um uns die langweilige Zeit zu verkürzen, verschafte der Szwonezkische Wasserfall mit dem unaufhörlichen weit umher erschallenden Brausen seiner durch die Klippen sich durcharbeitenden Wogen unserm Gehör Unterhaltung, und liess uns eine grosse Mannichfaltigkeit von Tönen vernehmen, die durch die bald mehr bald weniger gepresste Wasserströmung hervorgebracht wurden.'

τὸν μέγαν, τὸν ἐπιλεγόμενον Ῥωσιστὶ μὲν Ἀειφάρ, Σκλαβινιστὶ δὲ Νεασήτ, διότι φωλεύουσιν οἱ πελεκᾶνοι εἰς τὰ λιθάρια τοῦ φραγμοῦ). As, in my opinion, the names of this rapid have been hitherto completely misunderstood, I must dwell a little longer upon it. The rapid itself is evidently that which is now called *Nenasytets*, a rapid which, according to all descriptions, is the largest and most dangerous of them all[1].

As to the Slavonic designation *Neasit*, it is clear enough, as it apparently represents the Old Slavonic *neyęsyt'* (неѣсыть), in the Slavonic church language of Russia *neyasyt'* (неясыть), which does in fact signify a pelican, and in this almost all previous interpreters have acquiesced; in consequence of Constantine's words they have therefore explained the name as 'the Pelican-fall.' But, strange to say, none of them, so far as I know, have been aware of a difficulty which, after all, seems to me to render this interpretation extremely doubtful. That is, that the name of the rapid itself is said to be '*Neasit*' which, according to this interpretation, must signify 'the Pelican,' not 'the Pelican-fall.' If the origin of the name were really that which Constantine gives us, we should necessarily expect in Slavonic some name derived from '*neasit*,' in a similar manner as the name of

[1] In the work of Stuckenberg (p. 254) it is shortly described thus: 'Durch eine eigene Verknüpfung von Widerständen und von Hindernissen, welche sich hier, durch [zwei] Inseln, durch die Richtungen und Biegungen des Fahrwassers und durch andere Oertlichkeiten bedingt, dem Strome entgegenstellen, entsteht der Nenassitez, den die Schiffer mit Recht einen Backofen oder die Hölle nennen.' For more details see Szujew, Beschreibung seiner Reise, i. p. 183 f. and Lehrberg, l. c., p. 327 ff.

the second rapid is a derivative from *ostrov'*, and just as in English it would be necessary to use a compound name, as 'the Pelican-*fall*.' But every one will surely acknowledge that it is absurd to suppose that a rapid itself should have been called 'the Pelican' *on that account;* or, in other words, that it should have been designated in itself as an individual of a certain species of birds characteristic of it. The only circumstance that could give rise to such a designation would be some striking feature in the rapid itself, or the surrounding scenery, bearing a marked resemblance to some characteristic peculiarity of that bird, its beak for instance, or its voracity. Consequently there must, it seems to me, be some error in Constantine's statement as to the name of this rapid. We must necessarily assume one of two alternatives: either there is something wrong in the form of the name handed down to us by him, some derivative termination having been omitted; or the interpretation he gives us of the word is incorrect. If we consider how loose and vague many of Constantine's interpretations of these names are, whereas the names in themselves are fairly correct, I have no doubt that the latter alternative in every respect is the more probable of the two; especially as pelicans are never even seen there[1]. Constantine who evidently understood something of the Slavonic language may have known that the word *neyęyt'* signifies a pelican, and therefore may have added, of his own, the story of the pelicans.

[1] Comp. Lehrberg, l. c., p. 362.

But the Slavonic *neyęsyt'* means more than a pelican. It is a derivative from the adjective *syt'* (сытъ), satiated [1], and the primitive meaning of it is, 'the insatiable;' hence it is used to denote different creatures, especially birds, distinguished by their voracity, for instance, the vulture, or the pelican (in German *Nimmersatt*) [2]. Consequently, according to the primitive meaning of the word, it might very well be the rapid itself that was called 'the Insatiable,' and that this was really the case, is strongly corroborated by the modern name of this rapid, *Nenasytets* or *Nenasytetski*, which is evidently nearly the same as the Old Slavonic name, but which can mean only 'the Insatiable [3].' This is really in itself a very suitable name for such a mighty and violent rapid, and much more significant than the mild term the 'Pelican-fall [4].' Furthermore, I believe it was not so

[1] Comp. Fr. Miklosich, Vergleichende Grammatik der Slavischen Sprachen, vol. ii. Stammbildungslehre, p. 374. Wien, 1875.

[2] Old Slavonic *neyęsyt'*, vultur, pelecanus (Miklosich, Lexicon Palaeo-slovenico-graeco-latinum. Vindobonae, 1862–65); Russian *neyásyt'* (неясыть), a pelican? a kind of owl; a fabulous, voracious, insatiable bird; a man insatiably greedy for food, wealth, &c. (Даль, Толковый словарь живаго великорускаго языка. ii. Москва, 1865); Bohemian *nejesyt*, a pelican. Comp. Old Slavonic *nesyt'* (несыть), pelecanus; Russian *nésyt'* (несыть), a glutton, an insatiable man or animal; Servian *nesit*, 'Nimmersatt, insatiabilis' (Vuk Steph. Karadschitsch, Lexicon Serbico-germanico-latinum. Vindobonae, 1852); Bohemian *nesyt*, a glutton, a pelican.

[3] Old Slavonic *nenasyt'* (непасыть), 'fames'; Russian *nénasyt'* (ненасыть), a glutton; Servian *nenásit*, 'Nimmersatt, insatiabilis;' Polish *nienasyciec* id.; Bohemian *nenasyt*, a glutton. I add that the only one of the previous interpreters who supports this signification even of the ancient name *Neasit* is Lehrberg (l. c., p. 364). Is perhaps even the form *Neasit* in Constantine a fault instead of *Nenasit*, Νενασήτ?

[4] Compare, for instance, the Old Norse *svelgr*, a swirl, whirlpool,

called from its violence and voracity in general; for there is a characteristic peculiarity of this very rapid when compared with the other ones, from which, it might specially deserve the name 'the Insatiable. In the spring, from March to June, the quantity of water in the river increases so much that the rocks and stones which are the causes of the rapids are covered by the water, and in this season therefore most of the rapids are more or less navigable. The only exception is the Nenasytets. The obstacles which here stem the stream and form this rapid are so enormous that there is never sufficient water to cover them, and however abundant the supply of water may be in spring time, its violence is never diminished[1]. According to Constantine's description this rapid was also the only one in which the Russ could not even tow their empty boats through the current, but were obliged to drag them round it by land. This rapid is consequently like a bottomless pit that is never filled, and from this point of view no name could be more proper for it than '*Neasit*,' or *Nenasytets*, 'the Insatiable.'

Only after having thus established the true meaning, as I believe, of the Slavonic name shall we be able to make out the origin and signification of the Russ name *Aïfar*, of which no satisfactory

current, also as a proper name; a swallower, spendthrift; from the verb *svelgja*, to swallow; or *sarpr*, the crop of a bird, hence a renowned waterfall in Norway.

[1] 'Au Printemps lors que les neiges fondent, tous les Porouys sont couuerts d'eau excepté le septième qui s'appelle Nienastites et qui seul empesche la nauigation en cette saison.' Beauplan, Description d'Ukranie, p. 20 (comp. Lehrberg, l. c., p 321 note).

interpretation has hitherto been suggested [1]. With reference to the pelican theory, the interpreters have generally identified *Aïfar* with the modern Dutch *ooievaar*, Old Low German *ôdebaro*, Frisian *adebar*, a stork; supposing that the Scandinavians who did not know the pelicans in their aboriginal country may have confounded them with storks [2]. But it has been clearly shewn by a Dutch scholar, Prof. M. de Vries [3], that this interpretation is inadmissible as a matter of natural history, the stork being just as much unknown as the pelican in those regions of Scandinavia, from which the immigration to Russia must have taken place: it is also inadmissible on philological grounds; for the word in question is only Low German, not existing in any Scandinavian dialect, and if we reduce it to the language of the tenth century, every resemblance with *Aïfar* vanishes: lastly, it is inadmissible for logical reasons, for it is, and will ever be, absurd to suppose a rapid to have been called '*the Stork*' or anything of that kind, because pelicans live in the neighbourhood of it [4]. If the interpreta-

[1] [Comp. the additions at the end of the book].

[2] Comp. Kunik, Die Berufung der schwed. Rodsen, ii. p. 431 ff, and in Mémoires de l'Acad. Imp. de St. Pétersbourg, vii[e] série, tome xxiii. p. 415. Гротъ (Grot), Филологическія разысканія, 1873, p. 448 ff.

[3] See Verslagen en Mededelingen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde, 2de Reeks, Deel V. Amsterdam, 1875.

[4] As to the attempt Prof. de Vries himself makes to explain this name, it is by no means better. He supposes ΑΕΙΦΑΡ to be miswritten for ΔΕΙΦΑΡ, *Difar* (i. e. *Dýfari*) which he compares with the English 'a diver.' But '*dýfari*' is a fictitious word which is just as far from being Scandinavian as *ooievaar* is, and, upon the whole, according to the preceding reasoning I must deem every search in this way to be in the wrong direction.

tion of the Slavonic name *Neasit* which I have given is correct, it must be possible to explain the Russ *Aïfar* in harmony with it, and so it is in the most simple and natural manner. In my opinion *Aïfar* represents the Old Norse *Eifari* or *Eyfari* (or *Æfari*), the ever-rushing (perpetuo ruens), the never-ceasing, from *ei-* or *ey-* (or *æ-*), always, ever, and *fari*, a derivative from the verb *fara*, to go on[1]. In the old Swedish of the tenth century the corresponding form would probably be *Aifari*[2]. I believe this interpretation is in all respects satisfactory. You will see that in this way the Russ *Aïfar* gives in the affirmative form ('the ever-rushing'), just the same idea as the Slavonic *Neasit* does in the negative form ('the never-satiated'), and the proposed inter-

[1] Compare Old Norse *eimuni*, *eymuni*, ever-memorable; *eilífr*, *eylífr*, *ælífr* (perpetuo vivens), eternal; *eygló*, *eyglóa* (perpetuo splendens), the sun; further, with respect to *fari*, *dynfari* or *gnýfari* (cum strepitu ruens), poetical names of the wind. The compound *eyfari* itself cannot be exemplified from Old Norse literature; but *ey fara* as a verb in the signification 'to go on for ever,' occurs in a verse from the Edda: 'ár of bæði þau (summer and winter?) skulu ey fara, unz rjúfask regin' (Vafþruðnismál 27. Comp. Norrœn Fornkvæði, almindelig kaldet Sæmundar Edda hins fróða, udgiven af Sophus Bugge, pp. 69 and 396. Christiania, 1867), expressing just the same meaning as Genesis viij. 22: 'While the earth remaineth, . . . summer and winter, and day and night shall *not cease*.'

[2] The Teutonic diphthong *ai*, Old Norse *ei*, seems in Sweden to have conserved for a long time its original form *ai*, and so it is written extremely often in Runic inscriptions (comp. Rydqvist, Svenska Språkets Lagar, vol. iv. p. 138 ff. Stockholm, 1868). Instances where the prefix in question occurs in the form *ai* are AILIFR (Liljegren, Run-Urkunder. Stockholm, 1833, No. 186, 187, 704); AIFIKR (ibid., 489); AIRIKR (ibid., 458, 601, 605, &c.). As to *fari* in Old Swedish, comp. Rydqvist, l. c., vol. ii. p. 183, 1852; it is of frequent occurrence in Old Swedish proper names, as AFARI (Liljegren, l. c., 389); A[S]FARI (ibid., 837) SUFARI (ibid., 702); VIFARI (ibid., 67, 389, 574).

pretations thus mutually corroborate each other; the name exactly agrees with local nature, and connects itself naturally and without constraint with the idiom to which all the other Russ names incontestably belong.

The name of the fifth rapid is in Russ *Baruforos*, in Slavonic *Vulniprakh*, and it is said to be so called, because it forms a large whirlpool (Ῥωσιστὶ μὲν Βαρουφόρος, Σκλαβινιστὶ δὲ Βουλνηπράχ, διότι μεγάλην λίμνην [*leg.* δίνην] ἀποτελεῖ). This name again is one of the clearest of them all; it means in both languages 'the Wave-fall' or 'Whirl-fall.' The Slavonic form *Vulniprakh* represents the old Slavonic *Vl'n'nyi prag'* (влъньный прагъ); the word *prag'*, a rapid, we know already, and *vl'n'nyi* is an adjective derived from *vl'na*, modern Russian *volná*, a wave, in the same manner as in the name of the second rapid *ostrov'nyi* was derived from *ostrov'*, an isle. This rapid is in fact still called *Volnyi* or *Volninski*[1]. As to the Russ counterpart of it, *Baruforos*, it is pure Old Norse *Báru-fors*, a compound of *bára* (genitive case *báru*), a wave, and *fors*, a waterfall, which has here been conformed by the Greek author to the common Greek word *-φόρος*, *-phoros*.

The next rapid we come to, the sixth, is said to be called in Russ *Leanti*, in Slavonic *Verutzi*, which is interpreted as 'the boiling of the water' (. . . λεγόμενον μὲν Ῥωσιστὶ Λεάντι, Σκλαβινιστὶ δὲ Βερούτζη, ὅ ἐστι βράσμα νεροῦ). The literal translation would have been the boiling or bubbling fall. *Verutzi* is a repre-

[1] Lehrberg, l. c., p. 329.

sentative of the Old Slavonic *v'rąshtii* (вьржштий)[1], a participle of the verb *v'rêti* (вьрѣти), to boil, bubble, also to well, spring forth. The Russ name *Leanti* is evidently a Scandinavian participle like '*Gelandri*,' *Gellandi*, and the comparison which first offers itself is the Old Norse *hlæjandi*, Old Swedish *leiande* or *leande*, laughing. The designation of a rapid as *the laughing* is in itself by no means unreasonable; an English audience, I am sure, will instantly think of 'the laughing Water,' Minnehaha, in Longfellow's Hiawatha. According to the signification of the Old Norse verb *hlæja*, to laugh, it may have been so called both from its rippling or babbling sound and from the glittering or sparkling of the foam. In both cases this name may very well correspond with the Slavonic name. I may add that this rapid seems to me to be that which is now called *Tavolzhanski*. The Dnieper is here more than half a mile broad, and filled with stones, a circumstance which may certainly render this rapid peculiarly boiling and foaming, though it is not particularly dangerous.

Finally we have the seventh and last rapid the name of which is said to be in Russ *Struvun*[2], in Slavonic *Naprezi*, signifying 'the small rapid' ('Ρωσιστὶ μὲν Στρούβουν, Σκλαβινιστὶ δὲ Ναπρεζήϊ, ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται μικρὸς φραγμός). The explanation of both these names presents great difficulties and has been much disputed. As to the Slavonic name *Naprezi*, none of the hypotheses which have been proposed, appear to be admissible. I rather think that it must be connected

[1] Comp. the Servian *vruć*, fervidus.

[2] [Comp. the additions at the end of the book.]

with the Old Slavonic adjective *br'z'* (бръзъ), quick, or some derivative of it, of which several occur in different Slavonic idioms with the signification of a small rapid ; thus the Old Slavonic *br'zina* or *br'zhai*, a current, a stream, 'fluentum,' the Bulgarian *br'ziy*, a rapid, 'strom-schnelle,' the Servian *brzica* or *brzak*, a spot in a brook where the water runs rapidly over the pebbles[1]. I suppose we must think of some word of this kind, compounded with the preposition *na*, the meaning of which in this connection this is not the place to discuss. At any rate, you will see that this explanation just gives us the signification needed, that of 'a small rapid.' We must consequently suppose the Russ name to have a similar meaning. It must undoubtedly be read *Struvun*, according to the common signification of the Greek β at that time, not *Strubun* as has hitherto been generally assumed. I think that *Struvun* simply represents the Old Norse *straumr*, a stream, current, a word which is not only extremely often used as a proper name in the Scandinavian countries, but which also corresponds very well both to the Slavonic name and to Constantine's translation. This rapid appears to be the same which is now called *Lishni:* at this point the river is rather narrow, the greater part of it being occupied by a large island, but for this very reason it is all the more rapid ; and as it presents no other danger or hindrance to navigation, it may very well be called 'the small rapid' or 'the stream.'

[1] For similar names compare Miklosich, Slavische Ortsnamen aus Appellativen, in Denkschriften der k. k. Akademie zu Wien, vol. xxiii. p. 149, No. 40.

These are the celebrated names of the Dnieper rapids as they are transmitted to us by Constantine Porphyrogenitus. From the foregoing explanation it will be evident that the so-called Russ names in reality are pure Old Norse or Old Swedish, and these names are therefore without doubt one of the clearest proofs that we possess of the Scandinavian origin of the Russ. The accuracy of this testimony is acknowledged by all, and even the partisans of the various anti-Scandinavian theories have hardly ventured to contest these names, but have avoided them or contented themselves with vague allusions or loose postulates of the most unscientific kind[1].

But though these names of the Dnieper rapids are certainly the only direct specimen we have of the language of the ancient Russ, another group of linguistic mementos has come down to us from them, in which, still more clearly perhaps than in the names of those rapids, we perceive a Scandinavian tongue. I mean the proper names of persons which are to be found in the first pages of Russian history[2]. Not only do these names give us the most decisive proof of the Scandinavian origin of the Russ, but a minute

[1] Comp. Kunik in Mémoires de l'Acad. Imp. de St. Pétersbourg, vii^e^ série, tome xxiii. pp. 414, 415.

[2] These names have been treated previously by Bayer in Commentarii Academiae Scient. Imper. Petropolitanae, tom. iv. ad annum 1729, pp. 281–291. St. Petersburg, 1735 (compare A. L. v. Schlözer, Nestor, Russische Annalen, vol. iv. pp. 51–55. Göttingen, 1805). Kunik, Die Berufung der Schwed. Rodsen, vol. ii. pp. 107–194. 1845. P. A. Munch in Samlede Afhandlinger udgivne af G. Storm, vol. ii. pp. 191, 254–256. Christiania, 1874 (1849); and in Chronica Nestoris ed. Fr. Miklosich, pp. 188–198. Vindobonae, 1860. K. Gislason in Nestor's Russiske Krönike oversat af C. W. Smith, pp. 321–326. Kjöbenhavn, 1869.

examination of them will even give us most remarkable information as to the details of this question [1].

We find altogether about ninety names which bear more or less evidence of their Scandinavian origin. Among these names stand in the first place the names of the members of the Russian reigning family in the first two or three generations: *Rurik'* = Old Norse Hrœrekr; *Sineus'* = Signiutr; *Truvor'* = Þorvarðr; *Oleg'*, [*Ol'g'*] = Helgi; *Ol'ga* = Helga; *Igor'* [*Ingor, Inger*] = Ingvarr; *Malfrid'* = Malmfríðr; (*Oskold'* = Höskuldr; *Dir'* = Dýri). Towards the middle of the tenth century they are supplanted by Slavonic names, and after that time a few only of the Scandinavian names continue to be employed in the reigning family as an inheritance from the ancestors (such as *Rurik'*, *Igor'*, *Oleg'*, *Ol'ga*).

But besides these princely persons, almost all the Russian noblemen or private persons who are mentioned in the chronicles, during the first century after the foundation of the Russian state, have pure Scandinavian names. Very few of these names outlive the year 1000. The richest repertories of them are the two treaties concluded between the Russ and the Greeks in the years 912 and 945 [2]. Both of them

[1] For all details see the Appendix at the end of this book, where I give a complete alphabetical list of the names in question.

[2] If any one calls the genuineness of these treaties in question, I will answer him with the words of an eminent Slavonist (F. Miklosich, in his edition of Chronica Nestoris, p. ix. s., Vindobonae, 1860): 'De foederibus factis cum Graecis confitemur, nos non intelligere, quomodo haec foedera, paucissimis exceptis continentia nonnisi nomina Scandica, fingi potuerint post Nestoris aetatem, Russis tam brevi tempore oblitis haec nomina. Affirmanti vero, ficta esse aut a Nestore aut saltem aetate

begin with the words: 'We of Russian birth,' and thereafter follows a list of the Russian plenipotentiaries. In the first treaty fifteen ambassadors are enumerated; in the latter, probably twenty-five ambassadors, each representing some member of the princely family or person of the highest rank, and twenty-five merchants. In the treaty of 912 there are no Slavonic names at all, in that of 945 only three, all belonging to the group of princely persons or noblemen (viz. *Sviatoslav'* son of Igor', *Vladislav'* and a woman *Predslava*)[1]. But there are about sixty names in the treaties, and (exclusive of the princely names) about ten met with elsewhere which incontestably are pure Scandinavian; besides there are some which in all probability are the same (as, for instance, *Aktevu*, *Istr'*, *Klek'*, *Kuci*, *Mutur'*, *Sfan'da*, *Vuzlêb'*), and others which evidently have come down to us in so distorted a form, that it is difficult or impossible at all to trace their origin with certainty (as *Apubksar'*, *Kanitsar'*, *Libi*, *Sinko Borich'*, *Tilen*, *Voist' Voikov'*, *Yatviag'*).

It would certainly be impossible to understand how, at those times particularly, non-Scandinavian people should happen to bear names purely Scandinavian, and as the persons who bore those names expressly declare

Nestoris, respondebimus, fictionum aetatem in Russia longe esse recentiorem saeculo duodecimo. Addemus, foedera haec, si quidem ficta sint, ficta esse lingua graeca.'

[1] Among the names which occur without the treaties, and which have been considered as Scandinavian, *Blud'* is pure Slavonic, *Glêb'* originally Bulgarian (see Kunik, Mémoires de l'Acad. Imp. de St. Pétersbourg, vii^e^ série, tome xxiii. p. 402). *Liut'* may be either Scandinavian or Slavonic.

themselves in the treaties to be 'of Russian birth' (*ot' roda rus'ska*), this is incontestably a most striking proof that the Russ really were Scandinavians. The opponents of this view have not been able to shake this testimony, and will to the end of time be obliged to renounce all hope of doing so.

But we can go still a step further. It must be remembered that besides a great many names which in antiquity were nearly equally spread over all the Scandinavian countries, there are others which were employed only within more narrow boundaries, and from such names we can often, with more or less certainty, draw a conclusion as to the country, sometimes even as to the part of a country, of which the person who bore it was a native. Those who have previously examined the Scandinavo-Russian names have mostly taken into consideration only such names as are preserved in Old Norse book-literature, which chiefly concerns Iceland and Norway. However, there are several of the Russian names which cannot be thoroughly explained or verified by this means only, but which nevertheless are clearly Scandinavian in their roots. But of all the northern countries Sweden is the one which all the evidence points to as the chief centre of the relations between Scandinavia and Russia, and I really think we cast a new light upon the Russian names, if, instead of confining ourselves to the Saga-literature, we take for base the names which occur in the numerous Swedish Runic inscriptions and mediæval papers.

If we follow this plan, we find among the Russian names a great many which Sweden shares equally

with the other Scandinavian countries. Such names are *Adulb'* (Auðulfr), *Adun'* (Auðunn), *Akun'* (Hákun, Hákon), *Aldan'* (Halfdanr), *Alvard'* (Hallvarðr), *Amun'd'* (Ámundi or Hámundr or Eymundr), *Asmud'* (Ásmundr), *Bern'* (Björn), *Budy* (Bóndi), *Dir'* (Dýri), *Emig'* (Hemingr), *Frelaf'* (Friðleifr, Frilleifr), *Frudi* (Fróði), *Furstén'* (Þorsteinn), *Grim'* (Grímr), *Gunar'* (Gunnarr), *Ingel'd'* (Ingjaldr), *Ivor'* (Ívarr), *Karl'* (Karl), *Karly* (Karli), *Kary* (Kári), *Kol'* (Kollr), *Olêb'*, *Ulêb'* (Óleifr, Ólafr), *Ol'g'*, *Oleg'* (Helgi), *Ol'ga* (Helga), *Rogvolod'* (Ragnvaldr, Rögnvaldr), *Ruald'* (Hróaldr), *Ruar'* (Hróarr), *Rulav'* (Hróðleifr, Hrolleifr), *Riurik'*, *Rurik'* (Hrœrekr), *Sfirk'* (Sverkir), *Stir'* (Styrr), *Svên'* (Sveinn), *Truan'* (Þróandr, Þrándr), *Turbern'* (Þorbjörn), *Turd'* (Þórðr), *Tury* (Þórir), *Ul'b'* (?) (Úlfr), *Ustin'* (?) (Eysteinn). But besides these there are several names which appear to belong exclusively to Sweden (a few of them also to Denmark), or which, at any rate, are particularly frequent in Sweden. To this group belong *Ar'fast'* (Arnfastr), *Bruny* (Brúni), *Farlof'* (Farulfr), *Fost'* (Fasti), *Frastén'* (Freysteinn), *Gomol'* (Gamall), *Gudy* (Góði or Guði), *Gunastr'* (Gunnfastr), *Igor'* (Ingvarr), *Ingivlad'* (Ingivaldr), *Karn'* (Karni), *Mony* (Manni), *Ol'ma* (Holmi?), *Shikh'bern'* (Sigbjörn), *Sineus'* (Signiutr), *Sludy* (Slóði), *Stud'k'*, *Studek* (Stœðingr), *Svênald'* (Sveinaldr), *Tuky* (Tóki, Túki), *Tulb'* (Þolfr), *Vuyefast'* [or *Buyefast'*] (Véfastr? [or Bófastr?]); compare also *Shibrid'* = Old Swedish Sigfriðr, *Turbrid'* = Old Swedish Þorfriðr, (*Sfirk'* = Old Swedish Sverkir), whereas the Norse-Icelandic forms are Sigröðr, Þorröðr, (Sörkvir). On the other hand, there are extremely few of the Russian

names of which I have hitherto found no instance in Swedish records, while they are well known elsewhere in Scandinavia; such are *Oskold'* (Höskuldr), *Ver'mud'* (Vermundr), and the female names *Rognêd'* (Ragnheiðr), and *Malfrid'* (Malmfríðr). But if we consider how scanty the historical documents of Sweden are, as compared with those of Norway and Iceland, we are certainly justified in supposing it a mere chance that no instance of these names has come down to us.

But we can proceed still farther; for the names do not only betray an intimate relation to Sweden in general, but especially point to certain parts of it, namely, the provinces *Upland* (north of the Mælar), *Södermanland* (south of it), and *East Gotland* (south of Södermanland). Not only do all the names occur just in these three provinces, particularly in Upland, but several of them even appear to be characteristic of this very tract, as *Karni* (East Gotland), *Signiutr* (Upland), *Slóði* (Upland and Södermanland), *Stœðingr* (Upland and East Gotland), perhaps also *Farulfr* and *Sveinaldr* (all three provinces). It must not be forgotten, it is true, that by far the greater part (about three-fourths) of the Swedish Runic inscriptions belong to these three provinces. But this circumstance does not suffice to explain that remarkable coincidence. At any rate, it is curious that among the Russian names we do not find a single name which can be proved to have been characteristic of other provinces than the three in question, e. g. none of the numerous names exclusively employed in the island of Gothland, though this island might be expected to

have been, from ancient times, an intermediate link between Sweden and Russia. We must add that those three provinces are situated along the Swedish shore just opposite the Gulf of Finland, and that the numerous Runic inscriptions in which the relations between Sweden and the East are directly alluded to belong almost exclusively to the same three provinces. After all this we are certainly entitled to assert that the Russian proper names which occur during the first century after the foundation of the Russian state are not only, with extremely few exceptions, of pure Scandinavian origin, but that they also decidedly suggest Sweden, and especially the provinces of Upland, Södermanland, and East Gotland, to have been the original homestead of the so-called Russian tribe.

But it is time we should turn to Scandinavia itself, to see what basis can be found there for the Scandinavian origin of the Russ. And, in truth, though we find no direct account of the foundation of the Russian state, we have such a mass of evidence of the close connection that has existed from time immemorial between Scandinavia and the lands on the other side of the Baltic and the Gulf of Bothnia, that, if only for this reason, the accuracy of Nestor's account seems highly probable.

The earliest evidence in this direction is the fruit of archæological researches. With regard to the most ancient art-periods, the Ages of Stone and Bronze, they are so remote that they are of no essential importance to our subject. Yet we may observe, in passing, that the few relics of the Bronze Age which

have been found on these eastern coasts of the Baltic are decidedly and exclusively due to occasional intercourse with Scandinavia. Our true interest in this subject dates from the introduction of iron into the North: it is in this period that we first find traces of linguistic records in Scandinavia, the Runic inscriptions, which prove that the population at that time was of the same race as that which has ever since inhabited those regions. Even the art-culture of the first Iron Age, comprising, according to the Danish archæologists, the period from the commencement of the Christian era to 450 A. D., had found its way on a large scale into the countries east of the Baltic. Many objects have been found there which so closely correspond with the discoveries made in Scandinavia, that we are forced to acknowledge that they must have belonged to the same population, or at least to one closely akin to it. But the circumstance that these relics are confined to the tracts of land lying near the coasts, and that they have no resemblance whatever to the artistic forms found in the interior of these countries, proves that the culture of the first Iron Age was brought there from the west, by emigrants from Scandinavia [1].

The relics of this Scandinavian art-culture of the Iron Age are especially found round the Gulf of Finland and along a considerable tract of the western

[1] Comp. Worsaae, La colonisation de la Russie et du Nord Scandinave et leur plus ancien état de civilisation, in Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, nouv. série, 1873-74 (Copenhague), p. 154 ff. (= Aarböger for nordisk Oldkyndighed, 1872, p. 388 ff.). Aspelin, Suomalais-ugrilaisen Muinaistutkinnon Alkeita, p. 136 ff., Helsingfors, 1875.

coast of Finland, the native inhabitants of which appear at that time to have been Laplanders (or some other Arctic tribe). The antiquities which have been discovered there are so numerous that there can be no doubt that even in that early period there were many Scandinavian settlements along that coast, extending quite down to the innermost part of the Gulf of Finland.

These archæological results agree most remarkably with a linguistic phenomenon which I have elsewhere discussed [1]. I have proved that the Finnish idioms grouped round the Baltic Sea and its gulfs, at that very time, that is to say during the first centuries of the Christian era, were greatly influenced by the Teutonic tongues; and this in two ways, partly by a Scandinavian idiom closely resembling the language which we meet with in inscriptions of the first Iron Age; and partly by a Gothic idiom, which must have been a little more ancient in form than that known to us from the Gothic translation of the Bible made by Ulfilas in the fourth century, while the Goths inhabited the districts near the Danube. From the multitude and character of the words concerned I have shown that this influence must have been exercised at a time when the Finns were not yet dispersed so widely as they are now, and when they lived in closer union east or south-east of their modern territories, and that the Teutonic tribes of whose languages

[1] Vilh. Thomsen, Den Gotiske Sprogklasses Indflydelse på den Finske, Köbenhavn, 1869, translated into German by E. Sievers under the title: Ueber den Einfluss der Germanischen Sprachen auf die Finnisch-Lappischen, Halle, 1870.

fragments have in this way been preserved, must have been settled in the same regions. While this Scandinavian influence reached the Finns from the north-west, the regions round the Gulf of Finland, the Gothic came in from the south-west, the tracts between the Vistula and the Dwina, where we know that the Goths once lived, and where antiquities have been found which can only belong to them; none of these antiquities are of later date than c. 400 A. D., by which time the last of the Goths must have vanished from these districts[1].

The Scandinavian influence also, with respect both to art-culture and to language, seems to diminish or to be completely interrupted towards the end of the fifth century, in order to reappear in new forms some centuries later. This circumstance is certainly connected with the great migrations which at that very time took place in the East, and which not only drove the Slavs westwards, but also caused the Finnish race inhabiting Finland and the Baltic coasts at the present day to immigrate thither from the east or south-east.

About the year 700 or a little later a new epoch begins in the history of Scandinavian civilisation, an epoch which, from an archæological point of view, has been called the second Iron Age. But from that period archæology is no longer our only source of information, and though I willingly allow that it continues to shed valuable light on an infinite number of details of social life in the North, yet the im-

[1] Comp. above, p. 4 f., and Worsaae, l. c., p. 167 ff. (= p. 399 ff.).

portance of it is diminished by the abundance of other sources which henceforward afford us an insight into Scandinavian history. It is at this period that the Scandinavians appear for the first time on the stage of universal history, and immediately play a part there, such as they have never played before or since; it is the period of those grand Viking expeditions that made the name of '*Northmen*' known and dreaded on the most distant coasts of Europe.

During the preceding period the inhabitants of the Scandinavian countries had taken but little part in the events which convulsed the greater portion of the European continent. They had had time therefore to form and develope a civilisation of their own, though it may certainly have received many prolific germs from the South. This civilisation, which still did not prevent a considerable rudeness of manners and customs, must have been such as to develope that inflexible energy and vigour, and that taste for adventures which were characteristic of the Viking-time; and as to the art-culture, it gradually attained a remarkable degree of perfection, as is clearly proved by the richly adorned and beautiful weapons, and other antiquities which have been discovered in Scandinavia.

As, however, the Scandinavians were thus shut up for centuries within their own frontiers, such an increase of the population must have gradually taken place as left them at last no other resource but that of sallying forth, sword in hand, to win for themselves a new sphere of action and a new home. A leader for such expeditions was easily found among the many petty kings, whose position was rendered

highly unsatisfactory to themselves by the increasing centralisation of political power in the Scandinavian lands.

These were the circumstances which, from the beginning of the ninth century, gave the impulse to the Viking expeditions[1].

How these Northmen thus wandered forth, sometimes when it suited them better, as merchants, but most generally as pirates and plunderers, and how they colonized and even founded kingdoms in several countries in the West, need not to be dwelt on in this place.

What is important for our purpose is the fact that a current, similar to that which first carried the Northmen to Western Europe, bore them at the very same time to the lands beyond the Baltic and the Gulf of Finland, *Austrvegr* (the Eastway) as the ancient Scandinavians called them. While the westward stream flowed principally from Denmark and Norway, the movements to the East issued chiefly from Sweden.

It appears that the migration eastward began somewhat earlier than the other, perhaps even as early as the eighth century ; nor can this surprise us, when we remember that these districts, from still more ancient times, were known to the Scandinavians, frequented by them, and, as it were, homelike to them. Their migrations in this period are a renewal of their

[1] The same views of the causes of these expeditions have been stated with great erudition and profoundness by J. Steenstrup in his interesting work Normannerne, vol. i. Indledning i Normannertiden. Copenhagen, 1876, 8vo.

ancient traditions, and the name itself, *Austrvegr*, is an expression of this homelike feeling, as it is quite parallel to *Norvegr* (commonly written *Noregr*, Norway, literally the Northway, *Norðweg* in king Alfred's Orosius), whereas no corresponding name is ever applied to the movement in the opposite direction (*Vestrvíking*).

In the Old Norse Sagas and other documents, we find numerous proofs of the intercourse between Scandinavia and the lands beyond the Baltic[1]. It is true, that we do not there find any direct notice of the foundation of the Russian State; for it was an event which passed comparatively unnoticed in the North, and all the more so, as the central point of the Saga literature, Iceland, was so remote from the scene of this event. But countless are the notices we find of trade and navigation, Viking expeditions, and even emigrations in great masses[2], issuing from Scandinavia, chiefly from Sweden, to the coasts of the Baltic and the Gulf of Finland; and numberless are the passages referring to the visits of Northmen to Russia, and to the intimacy between the Scandinavian and Russian reigning families, which can only be explained by a mutual national relationship.

[1] All the notices that the Sagas contain on this question are collected in Antiquités Russes d'après les monuments historiques des Islandais et des anciens Scandinaves, éditées par la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord. Copenhague, 1850–52, 2 voll. in folio.

[2] Comp. especially Steenstrup, l. c., p. 194 ff. Still at the present day several tracts of the coasts of Finland and Esthonia have a genuine Swedish population, which must once have immigrated thither from Scandinavia; though no tradition gives us any hint as to the period when this immigration took place.

Many of these notices have a legendary character, and belong almost to mythical times; many, on the other hand, refer to well-known historical personages.

The name by which the Scandinavians designated the Russian dominions, especially the northern part of them, was *Garðar*, the plural of *garðr*, a yard, a stronghold[1], or *Garðaríki*. The localities in Russia, or Garðaríki, which are mentioned in the Sagas are more particularly those grouped nearest round the Gulf of Finland, which were evidently constantly frequented by the Scandinavians. Thus mention is often made of the old commercial town *Aldegjuborg*, the Russian (Old-) Ladoga, standing on the little river Volkhov, at some distance from its fall into lake Ladoga, called by the Scandinavians *Aldegja*. Another town which is extremely often mentioned is Novgorod, which was called by the Scandinavians *Hólmgarðr*, probably because it stood on a holm situated at the point where the Volkhov issues from lake Ilmen[2].

[1] This word is akin to the Russian *gorod'*, Old Slavonic *grad'*, a stronghold, a town, which occurs in all Slavonic languages and cannot therefore well be borrowed from the Old Norse *garðr*. I would rather call attention to the fact that the Old Norse names of several towns in the east have the termination *-garðr*, though *garðr* does not in Old Norse signify a town; thus, for instance, *Hólmgarðr*, *Kœnugarðr*. It seems to me not to be unreasonable that the employment of the word *garðr* in these names is an imitation of the Slavonic *gorod'*, *grad'*. In the same way the Old Norse name of Constantinople, *Mikligarðr*, may have been influenced by the Slavonic name of this town, *Tsarigrad'*, 'the Emperor's town.'

[2] Or is *Hólm-* a representative of *Ilmen*, accommodated to the Old Norse *hólmr*? Comp. Müllenhoff in Haupt's Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum, vol. xii. p. 346. Similar accommodations of foreign names are extremely frequent in Old Norse.

The Old Norse name of Kiev was *Kœnugarðr*[1], Polotsk was called *Palteskja*, &c.

But the Sagas are not the only written memorials that testify to the frequent visits of the Scandinavians to Russia. They are referred to in many of the Runic inscriptions in Sweden, raised to the memory of men who had fallen in the East[2]. Nearly all these monuments are found in the Swedish provinces Upland, Södermanland and East Gotland, and the time from which they date is chiefly the tenth and eleventh centuries. Many of them only say of the deceased, that 'he fell in a battle in the East,' or 'in Gardar,' or 'at Holmgard,' &c.; but there are others which give more detailed information. Thus we have a series of about 20 stones, found in different parts of the above mentioned three provinces, which all refer to one event,—an expedition headed by a leader named Ingvar. On some of them it is said of the deceased: 'he went eastward with Ingvar,' or, 'he fell eastward with Ingvar,' or, 'he commanded a ship in Ingvar's fleet;' one reads: 'he had long been in the East, and fell in the East under Ingvar,' &c. It is evident that all these inscriptions refer to the same enterprise, which must once have been famous,

[1] Accommodated to the Old Norse *kœna*, a kind of boat?

[2] No Scandinavian Runic inscription has been discovered in Russia. But this cannot surprise us, nor can it be adduced as a proof against the Scandinavian origin of the Russ. For the Rune-writing in the form characteristic of the later Iron-Age was not generally adopted in Sweden till the tenth century, consequently long after the emigration to Russia had taken place. In honour of the Scandinavians who afterwards found their death in Russia while serving in the Russian army, cenotaphs with inscriptions were erected in their native place.

and in which many Swedes must have participated. It has been supposed [1] that the Ingvar who is mentioned here, was no other than the Russian prince called by Nestor, Igor, by Liudprand, Inger, and that one of his expeditions is referred to. Several circumstances, however, suggest that these inscriptions must be nearly a century later than Igor's time; and it is therefore much more probable that Ingvar was a Swedish prince of that name, surnamed *hinn víðförli*, 'the far-travelled,' who, according to the Icelandic 'Annales Regii,' died in the year 1041 [2].

The testimony of the historic records as to the connection between the Scandinavians and the eastern lands is supported, in the clearest manner, by archæological discoveries. We see from numerous coins which have been found in Russia and the North, that just at the time of the great Viking expeditions an extremely lively trade existed between Scandinavia, the East and the Byzantine empire. This intercourse was carried on through the interior of Russia [3]. Thus in Sweden great quantities of Arabian coins (nearly 20,000) have been found, which date from between 698 and 1002, but the far greater part are

[1] P. A. Munch, Det norske Folks Historie, i. 2. p. 80. Christiania, 1853. Antiquités de l'Orient, Monuments Runographiques interprétés par C. C. Rafn, p. ix. Copenhague, 1856.

[2] See Langebek, Scriptores rerum Danicarum, vol. iii. p. 42. Sturlunga Saga, edited by G. Vigfusson, vol. ii. p. 353, Oxford, 1876. This Ingvar is the principal person in a very fabulous Saga: Sagan om Ingwar Widtfarne och hans son Swen, utgifwen af N. R. Brocman. Stockholm, 1762, 4to. Published also in Antiquités Russes, vol. ii. pp. 141–169.

[3] Compare Nestor's statement that even before Rurik's time there was a passage from the Varangians (i. e. Scandinavians) down the great Russian rivers to Greece.

from between 880 and 955, the very time when, according to all evidence, the Scandinavian element was playing so important a part in the history of Russia. It seems that from the tenth century, especially, the island of Gothland was the central point of the trade between Scandinavia and the East; for the largest discoveries of coins have been made here (about 13,000). With these Arabian coins were intermixed other foreign coins which must also have been brought there by traders from the East; among them were many Byzantine coins which bear dates of the tenth and eleventh centuries[1].

In Russia, not only have exactly similar coins been found, but also western European coins—chiefly Anglo-Saxon, which must have been taken there by Scandinavians, and which probably have formed part of that Danegeld which England so often had been forced to pay,—as well as weapons and ornaments of a decidedly northern type. Nor is it merely in the Baltic districts that these objects have been discovered, but also farther in the interior of Russia, chiefly in isolated barrows, apparently raised over chiefs[2]. The most remarkable of these objects are the swords, and a kind of buckle of an oval convex form peculiar to the North, and the type presented by them belongs to

[1] Comp. J. J. A. Worsaae, La colonisation de la Russie et du Nord Scandinave et leur plus ancien état de civilisation, in Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, nouvelle série, 1873–74, Copenhague, pp. 190, 191 (= Aarböger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, 1872, Kjöbenhavn, p. 422 f.).

[2] Comp. Worsaae, l. c., p. 186 ff. (= 418 ff.). Comte A. Ouvaroff, Étude sur les peuples primitifs de la Russie. Les Mériens. Traduit par M. F. Malaqué. Pp. 44 ff., 84 ff., 115 ff. &c. St. Pétersbourg, 1875.

the period between the ninth and eleventh centuries; they correspond exactly to the northern weapons and ornaments which are found in Great Britain, Ireland, and France, and date from the time when the Danish and Norse Vikings visited and settled in those countries, in other words, from the ninth to the eleventh centuries. It is to be hoped that, in time, still more light may be thrown on this subject when such researches in Russia are carried on with more system, and on a larger scale than has been the case hitherto.

When we reflect upon the testimony which I have adduced from Scandinavian documents and archæological discoveries, I think it must be acknowledged that they support and illustrate, in a most remarkable manner, the traditional view as to the Scandinavian origin of the Russ. None of them, it is true, give us any direct statement of this fact; the greater part of them refer to the time after the foundation of the Russian state, and only prove that, at that period, the Scandinavians carried on a lively intercourse with Russia, and that a great many of them came over there, some as merchants, some to serve as warriors under the Russian princes. But it is evident that even this intercourse, this influx of Scandinavians into Russia, would be incredible, had it not for base some national kinship. I think that even if no other notice were left to us, we should still be obliged to suppose the existence of a strong Scandinavian element in Russia.

But there is another circumstance which, if only indirectly, yet in a high degree confirms the view which I am endeavouring to defend. That circum-

stance is the striking resemblance between both the culture and mode of life of the Scandinavians of the Viking times and the ancient Russ, as they are described to us in the Slavonic chronicles, by Greek and Arabian writers. According to the unanimous testimony of these different authorities, the Russ were a seafaring people, a people that wandered far and wide, to Greece and the Oriental lands, and whose ships not only navigated the rivers of Russia, but also the Black Sea, nay, even the Caspian Sea. Everywhere they appear, now as Vikings, now as traders, as it suited them better, but always sword in hand, and ready at any moment to exchange the merchant's peaceful occupation for the bloody deeds of the pirate. This picture of the ancient Russ so completely coincides with the habits and adventurous life of the Northmen, as it is described to us both by northern writers and by the Latin authors of the middle ages, that it is impossible not to believe that these movements issued from the same nation and were inspired with the same national spirit. It is impossible, on the other hand, to imagine this to be the mode of living among the Eastern Slavs of that time. We must remember that they then still dwelt in the interior of the land, completely separated by other tribes from both the Black Sea and the Baltic. How could it then be possible for this people to have become so familiar with navigation as the ancient Russ evidently were[1]? From the first moment this people appears

[1] Comp. Kunik in Mémoires de l'Acad. Imp. de St. Pétersbourg, viie série, tome xxiii. p. 283, and in О запискѣ готскаго топарха, in Записки Имп. Акад. Наукъ, vol. xxiv. p. 110 ff.

upon the stage of history, they prove themselves to be a maritime nation; such people must previously have dwelt on the sea coasts, and have been accustomed to manœuvre their ships on the open sea.

If we compare this with the other evidence which I have previously reviewed, I believe that every impartial judge will come to the conclusion that Nestor is perfectly correct in representing the original Russ as Scandinavians. It is clear that the settlement of the Scandinavian element in Russia, and the foundation of a Scandinavian state among the Finnish and Slavonic tribes of that vast territory, was only a single instance of the same mighty and widespread movement which in the middle ages carried the Northmen to Western Europe. A closer consideration of that part of the question which may still appear unexplained, I mean the particular name applied to the Scandinavian element in Russia, and its history, shall be the subject of the next lecture. I hope, then, to be able to show that all apparent discrepancies blend into the simplest and most beautiful harmony.

# LECTURE III.

## ON THE DENOMINATION AND HISTORY OF THE SCANDINAVIAN ELEMENT IN RUSSIA.

In the preceding Lecture I reviewed the evidence which can be adduced from other sources to confirm Nestor's account of the foundation of the Russian state, and I think that we have thus obtained a complete corroboration of his statement as to the Scandinavian origin of the ancient Russ. I have referred to some of the arguments used by the anti-Scandinavianists to weaken the power of the different proofs produced by their adversaries; but, on the other hand, I hope I have shown that they are far from having succeeded in their attempts. Especial attention has been called to the linguistical evidence, founded upon the proper names which occur in early Russian history, and upon the few words which have been handed down to us of the language of the ancient Russ (the names of the Dnieper rapids); this evidence seems to be so decisive, that the opponents of the Scandinavian theory have hardly made any serious attempt to gainsay it.

To show the improbability of Nestor's account, the anti-Scandinavianists have taken particular pains to prove the existence of the Russ as a distinct tribe in Russia long before the year stated by Nestor. I have

mentioned the most important of these presumed proofs, and believe I have shown how untenable they are: I will only add, that even if such evidence could be admitted, it would only prove that the date given by Nestor is incorrect; while it would not touch the question of the original nationality of the Russ, a fact which is independent of chronology, to a certain extent at any rate.

But the weightiest argument of the anti-Scandinavianists lies in the name *Russ* itself, and it must be owned that the defenders of the Scandinavian theory have not hitherto been able to clear up the difficulties connected with this name. If the Russ be Scandinavians — thus argue their opponents —it must be possible from other sources to find some Scandinavian tribe who called themselves by that name; but no such tribe can be indicated. I willingly acknowledge that this is true, but I must also observe, that neither is it possible to find any Slavonic tribe to whom this name originally belonged; for the efforts that have been made to prove this are mere airy conjectures which cannot stand the test of severe scientific criticism.

But how do we know that the ancient Russ really called themselves Russ, or anything similar, in their mother-tongue? Were this clearly proved, the contention of the opponents of the Scandinavian theory would have real weight; but in fact there is evidence which shews that most probably the Old Russ did not give themselves this name. I therefore consider it a great mistake on the part of the adherents of the Scandinavian theory, that they should,

so to speak, waste powder and shot in endeavouring to find traces of a Scandinavian or Teutonic tribe, from whose national appellation the name *Russ* might have been directly derived.

The only evidence that may be supposed to indicate that this name was a native one, is the passage from Prudentius which I mentioned in my preceding Lecture (p. 39); it is also the earliest authority in which we meet with this name. My readers will remember that Prudentius relates how the Greek emperor sent to Louis the Pious some ambassadors who had been in Constantinople, and who, the author adds, rendering the wording of the Greek letter of introduction, 'said that they, that is to say, their nation, are called Rhos[1];' but in Germany these people were discovered to be Swedes. If we examine the question a little closer, we shall see that this passage proves nothing. It is certain that these people could not have treated with the court in Constantinople in their mother-tongue, which no one there could understand, nor is it probable that any of them could speak Greek. The negotiations therefore must have been carried on by means of a third language, which both parties mutually understood, or for which interpreters at least were at hand. Such a language will probably have been the Slavonic or Khazarian. At any rate, the name applied

[1] What the wording of the Greek original writing was we unfortunately do not know; but I think it must doubtless have been something like τινὰς λεγομένους Ῥῶς or τινὰς τῶν λεγομένων Ῥῶς, a very common expression in Byzantine literature which would very well bear Prudentius' translation; if so, it much weakens the argument that those people called themselves *Russ*.

to these persons at the Greek court must have been that by which their nation was known in that language in which they conversed. Let us suppose, by way of illustration, that a German embassy is sent to an Indian prince who has never before heard anything of Germany; the negotiations would naturally be carried on in English, either directly, or with the assistance of native interpreters; consequently, the nation to which these ambassadors belonged would be known in India as 'Germans,' and none would suspect that in their own language they called themselves 'Deutsche.' If this supposed Indian prince were to send these persons to some other prince, his letters of introduction would naturally run as follows: 'The bearers of these letters are some people who say that their nation is called "Germans"'—but this would be no proof that in their own tongue they called themselves so. Now, if this second prince had not heard this name 'Germans' before, but, on the contrary, had known the Germans as 'Deutsche' or 'Allemands,' he would probably be astonished to find that they belonged to the nation which he knew so well under another name: and supposing he had reason to suspect their intentions, he would possibly act as Louis the Pious acted. In short, it does not appear to me that we can draw the conclusion from this passage of Prudentius, that the people who were called *Rhos* by the Greeks, really called themselves so in their own language.

That they did not we may suppose from the passage of Liudprand, which I have already quoted (p. 47), in which he says that the people who in

Western Europe were called Northmen, were called by the Greeks 'Rusii[1].'

I therefore boldly venture to maintain that the ancient Russ, taken as a nation, did not call themselves so in their mother-tongue. *Russ* was only a name applied to them in the East. But if this be the case, the objection to their Scandinavian origin, which is founded on the name Russ, is of no importance. It is just as if we would deny that the ancient *Germani* were Germans; for it must now be considered as proved, that no German or Teutonic tribe ever called themselves by that name, but that it was only assigned to them by their Celtic neighbours, and from them was transmitted to the Romans. The same argument would make us deny that the *Wallachians* are of Romanic origin, or the *Welsh* of Celtic origin; for neither of these nations themselves ever knew anything of that name[2]; it originated among the Teutonic peoples, who by *Walh* designated all whose language they did not understand, partly the Celts, partly the

[1] Gedeonov says in his Fragments on the Varangian Question, No. X. p. 100: 'The notice of Liudprand which is so highly appreciated by the Scandinavianists proves but one thing, viz.: that the name Russ was never a native appellation of the Northmen.' I quite agree with Gedeonov in this last conclusion, to a certain extent at least, though by no means in his assertion, that it is the *only* conclusion that can be drawn from Liudprand's words. But when Gedeonov endeavours first to weaken the importance of Liudprand's identification of Rusii and Northmen by the postulate, in itself totally incorrect, that 'Northmen' is a common name which may also include the Slavs, and afterwards draws the conclusion, from the same passage, that none of the Northmen called themselves Russ, I am surprised he does not perceive that in this manner he annihilates his own argument against the Scandinavian origin of the Russ. 'Qui nimium probat nihil probat.'

[2] Comp. Gaston Paris in the Romania i. p. 1 ff.

Romanic nations. Numberless other instances of a similar variety of names can be cited. Even the name *Northmen* was hardly the native appellation of the Scandinavian Vikings who visited the coasts of Western Europe[1].

But while neither the ancient Russ nor any other Scandinavian tribe called themselves *Russ*, attention was called, even in the last century, to a name which is evidently the same word, and which forms its connecting-link with Scandinavia. It is the name given to *Sweden* by all the Finnish tribes grouped round the Gulf of Bothnia and the Baltic. In Finnish it is *Ruotsi* (and *Ruotsalainen*, a Swede), in Esthonian *Rôts* (and *Rôtslane*), in the language of the Vot (in the government of St. Petersburg near Narva), *Rôtsi* (and *Rôtsalainê*), and in Livonian *Rúotsi* (and *Rúotsli*). Not only must this be the same name as the Slavonic *Rus'*, but it cannot be doubted that the Slavonic name took its origin from the Finnish appellation. It must ber emembered that the Finnish tribes, as we have previously mentioned, completely separated the Slavs from the sea. When the Scandinavians crossed the Baltic, they must first have come in contact with the Finns; but the Slavs could only have become acquainted with them after their passage through the territory of their Finnish neighbours. It is therefore clear that the Finns must have had a name for the Scandinavians before the Slavs had one, and it was therefore extremely natural that the Slavs should give

[1] Comp. J. Steenstrup, Normannerne, vol. i. Indledning i Normannertiden, p. 51 f.

them the same name as they heard applied to them by the Finns.

Several other hypotheses have been made with reference to the name *Russ*, especially on the side of the anti-Scandinavian party, which, of course, will not acknowledge any connection whatever between this name and the Finnish *Ruotsi*. But none of them will hold good against scientific criticism. Thus attention has been called to the Biblical name *Rosh* (Ῥώς in the Septuagint), which we find in Ezekiel, xxxviii. 2, 3, and xxxix. 1. 'The prince of Rosh, Meshech and Tubal[1]' is there given as the title of Gog who is to come up from the north against the people of Israel, but God will judge him and give the victory to Israel. It has long ago been objected that this comparison has no value at all, because the name Rosh in Ezekiel is too uncertain and solitary, and between his time and the Russ of the ninth century there is a space of more than 1400 years[2]. Neverthe-

[1] In the English authorised version this name *Rosh* is not to be found. There this passage is rendered 'the chief prince of Meshech and Tubal,' like the Vulgate 'principem capitis Mosoch et Thubal,' according to the common signification of the Hebrew word ראש *rosh*, which is a head or chief. It is not however improbable that *Rosh* may be used here to denote some nation or tribe, but certainly not the Russ. Compare Сказанія еврейскихъ писателей о Хазарахъ. Собралъ А. Я. Гаркави. Санктпет. 1874, pp. 60 ff., 158 f. Lenormant, Lettres Assyriologiques, vol. i. p. 27, Paris, 1871, connects *Rosh* with the Assyrian *Rashi*, 'pays situé sur la rive gauche du Tigre, au nord de la Susiane. Compare G. Maspéro, Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient, 2e éd., p. 402, Paris, 1876: '*Rasi*, canton de la Susiane, la Mésobatène des géographes classiques.'

[2] So already, Müller, Sammlung Russischer Geschichte, vol. v. p. 390 f. St. Petersburg, 1760 (=vol. ii. p. 343 f. Offenbach am Main, 1777).

less there are visionaries who even at the present day seriously quote this text to prove the antiquity of the Russ.

Next, the name Russ has been connected with the name *Roxolani*, a 'Sarmatian' tribe that in ancient times dwelt in some part of what is now Southern Russia. Some have supposed them to be Slavs or half-Slavs [1], others have thought that they may have been Goths [2], or even Scandinavians who had remained in Russia when their kinsmen, according to an untenable theory, had immigrated into the northern countries from the East [3]. There can be no doubt, however, that these Roxolani were of Oriental descent, probably an Iranic tribe: like so many other tribes they were swallowed up by the waves of the great migration, and have nothing to do with the Russ, whatever origin we may ascribe to them.

It seems to me to be incontestable that the only name with which the word *Russ* has any direct connection is the Finnish appellation of Sweden, *Ruotsi*, and this fact is in itself highly instructive with respect to the question of the nationality of the Russ. Whence the name *Ruotsi*, in its turn, is derived, is again a subject of dispute among philologers. The

[1] Comp. e.g. the Athenæum, 1872, July 27, p. 113. A Slavonic root *rus*, *ros*, *ras*, *ra*, referred to, ibid., with the meaning 'river,' does not exist; see Miklosich, Die Rusalien, p. 19 (in Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Classe der Kais. Akademie, vol. xlvi. Wien, 1864).

[2] E. g. Müller, Sammlung Russischer Geschichte, vol. v. 1760, p. 385 ff. (=vol. ii. 1777, p. 339 ff.).

[3] P. A. Munch, Samlede Afhandlinger udgivne af G. Storm, vol. ii. p. 196 ff. Christiania, 1874 (written 1849). Afterwards, however, he modified his opinion upon the Roxolani; see his Det Norske Folks Historie, part I. vol. i. p. 41. Christiania, 1852.

explanation of this word, which has been most generally adopted by the so-called Scandinavian school, is to derive it from *Roslagen*, the name of the coast of the Swedish province of Upland, lying just opposite the Gulf of Finland. Several objections, however, have been raised against the identification of these two words. On the one hand, the first syllable of *Roslagen*, which alone is supposed to have been transferred to the Finnish, is in itself no nominative, but the genitive case of an Old Swedish substantive, *roþ-er* (*rod*, Old Norse *róðr*), rowing, navigation. On the other hand, the name *Roslagen* is too modern to be worthy of consideration; in more ancient times the word *Roþer*, *Roþin* was used to denote those tracts of Upland and East Gotland that bordered the sea, and in the middle ages were bound to furnish ships in time of war. The inhabitants of this district were called *Rods-karlar* or *Rods-mæn* (their modern appellation is *Rospiggar*)[1]. On account of these difficulties this etymology has been since abandoned, even by Kunik who in his work 'Die Berufung der Schwedischen Rodsen,' had supported it with great power[2].

I allow that it is impossible to suppose any direct

[1] Comp. Rydqvist, Svenska Språkets Lagar, vol. ii. pp. 273, 628. Stockholm, 1857.

[2] Kunik has lately proposed another explanation (Mémoires de l'Académie Imp. de St. Pétersbourg, vii^e^ série, tome xxiii. p. 381 ff.), connecting the names *Ruotsi* and *Rus* with an Old Norse name *Reiðgotar* or *Hreiðgotar* (in Anglo-Saxon *Hréðgotan* or *Rædgota*), which seems to mean the Goths on the continent; he thinks that the original form of this name may have been **Hrōþigutans*. But this explanation is fraught with such great difficulties in its phonetic aspect, that it must be considered untenable.

genetic connection between Roslagen, as a geographical notion, and Ruotsi or Russ. Nevertheless I have some doubt whether this thread has not been too precipitately cut asunder. The name *Ruotsi* can no more be explained from the Finnish language than *Rus'* can from the Slavonic. It must therefore be of foreign, in all probability of Scandinavian origin[1]. But if it be so, it appears to me by no means unreasonable to fix upon the Old Swedish word *roþ-er*, all the more as it is in truth a remarkable coincidence that, in ancient times, *Roþer*, *Roþin*, was the name of the very same tracts of Sweden to which the Russian personal names, as we have seen before, point as the original homestead of the Russ. We can easily imagine that the Swedes who lived near the coast and crossed to the other side of the Baltic, might very early call themselves—not considered as a nation, but after their occupation or mode of living—*rōþs-menn* or *rōþs-karlar* or something similar, i. e. according to the original signification of the word, rowers, seafarers[2]. In Sweden itself this word, and even the abstract substantive *roþer*, gradually came to be treated as proper names. It is then all the less strange that the Finns should have understood this name to be the title of the nation, and adopted it in this signification,

[1] In a similar manner the Laplanders have derived the words *Ladde*, 1. a (Swedish) village, 2. Sweden; and *Laddelač*, 1. a (Swedish) peasant, 2. a Swede, from the Swedish word *land*, land, country.

[2] In Northern Norway *Róssfolk* (*Rórs-* or *Róds-folk*) still signifies 'fishers that assemble near the shore during the fishing time.' The singular form is *Róss-kar* or *-man*. See Ivar Aasen, Norsk Ordbog, p. 612. Christiania, 1873.

so that they preserved the first syllable only of the compound word, in the forms *Ruotsi* and *Ruotsalainen*. It might be objected, as has been done with regard to the derivation from *Roslagen*, that the first syllable of the compound word, *Rōþs-*, is in Swedish a genitive, and that it would be singular to use a genitive form as a proper name. But if we suppose that no Scandinavian called himself *Rōþs* or *Ruotsi* or *Russ*, but that this abridged name was first assigned to them by the Finns, this difficulty vanishes. For it is very common in Finnish, when a compound word is adopted from another language, to keep only the first part of it [1]; and if this first part happen to be originally a genitive, a word may unconsciously be adopted in its genitive form. This is the case, for instance, with the Finnish word *riksi*, a Swedish rix-dollar, which has been formed from the Swedish word *riksdaler* by dropping the principal word *daler* or dollar and only retaining *riks-*, which is originally the Swedish genitive form (for *rikes*) of *rike*, a kingdom [2]. Such an explanation of the Finnish *Ruotsi* I think by no means an unreasonable one. It is only an hypothesis; but it seems to me that this hypothesis in every respect affords clear harmony and coherence.

[1] The same sometimes occurs in indigenous words; see A. Ahlqvist, Auszüge aus einer neuen Grammatik der finnischen Sprache. Zweites Stück: Zusammensetzung des Nomens, § 14. Helsingfors, 1872. (Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae, tom. x.)

[2] I will add that, from its form, the Finnish *Ruotsi* may date from the beginning of the so-called second iron-age, or a little earlier; at any rate it must be younger than the first iron-age (compare above, p. 75 f.). See V. Thomsen, Den Gotiske Sprogklasses Indflydelse på den Finske, pp. 70 f., 100 f. København, 1869.

As before said, the same name came from the Finns to the Slavs in the form *Rus'* (Роусь, Русь), where the sound *uo* or *ô*, which is unknown in Slavonic, is rendered by *u*, exactly in the same manner as the Finnish *Suomi*—originally the name of some Finnish tribe, and now the native name for Finland—is rendered *Sum'* (Соумь, Сумь) in the Russian chronicles.

As far as the grammatical form of the name *Rus'* in Slavonic is concerned, it is characteristic that this word is always used in the singular number as a collective noun. Otherwise this peculiarity only occurs, in Russian documents, in the case of foreign names, particularly such as designate Finnish tribes or are derived from the Finnish languages, in which we really find the model of this usage. Thus we have in the Russian chronicles, besides the word *Sum'* already mentioned, *Yam'* = Finnish *Häme* (the Tavastrians), *Mordva*, *Meria*, *Muroma*, *Ves'*, *Chud'*, *Perm'*, &c. This fact also corroborates our supposition that the name *Rus'* may have come to the Slavs from the Finns.

From the Slavonic name *Rus'* is derived the Greek form of the same word, *Rhôs* (Ῥῶς), which we meet with in the ninth and tenth centuries. There may be doubts as to whether the Greeks received this form directly from the Slavs (or, which amounts to the same thing, from the Russ themselves, inasmuch as they used the Slavonic language), or if the word was transmitted mediately through another language which had previously acquired it from the same source. Two things are remarkable in this

Greek form, *Rhôs*: firstly, the vowel *ō* (ω), instead of which we should expect *u* (ου), if the word were derived directly from the Slavonic; next, the peculiarity that it is always used indeclinably in this form, being treated as a plural noun (οἱ Ῥῶς, τῶν Ῥῶς, &c.). This latter circumstance can scarcely be sufficiently explained by the constant use of the name *Rus'* in the singular in Slavonic. I am rather inclined to regard it as suggesting that the first knowledge of this name reached the Greeks through the language of some Turkish-Tatar tribe, probably the Khazars (compare above, p. 42), and that, in the beginning, the Greeks themselves confounded the Russ with those tribes. In Byzantine literature we commonly find Turkish-Tatar names, and those only, used indeclinably in the same way, e.g. οἱ Οὐάρ, Χουννί, Ὀγώρ, Οὔζ, Ταρνιάχ, &c.[1] The same circumstance may possibly explain also the ω of the Greek form Rhos (compare the Hungarian form *Orosz*, Russian, which from the prefixed *o* is incontestably proved to have been introduced through some Turkish dialect). From about the middle of the tenth century the Greek form Rhos was supplanted by the more modern form *Rusioi* (Ῥούσιοι), which has more affinity with the Slavonic *Rus'*.

The Arabs received their *Rûs* in much the same way as the Greeks (or perhaps from the Greek *Rhôs*?).

To the people of Western Europe, especially the

[1] Kunik (Mémoires de l'Acad. Imp. de St. Pétersbourg, série vii, tome xxiii. p. 404) explains this use from an identification of the name *Rhos* with the Biblical Ῥώς (see above, p. 93). But as early as 839 such an association of ideas seems to me highly improbable.

Teutonic race, this name came later, with the politico-geographical signification in which we now employ the word Russia. In the eleventh century we meet with the Old German form *Rûzâ*, and in mediæval Latin documents we find *Russia*, *Ruzzia*, *Rucia*, &c. The Middle High German form is *Riuze*. The name came back to Scandinavia from Germany; in the later Norse Sagas we find *Rússar* (Russians) and *Rúzaland* or *Rúciland* instead of the more ancient *Garðaríki*, and in Old Swedish *Ryza*, Russians, *Ryzaland*, Russia, where the vowel *y* (=original *ú*), as well as the *z*, a letter foreign to the Swedish language, clearly indicate its German origin[1].

This is in abstract the development of the name Russ regarded from the linguistic side. As to the ethnographical meaning of this name, we have already seen that the Slavs especially used it to denote the Scandinavian tribe which founded a state among them, while the Greeks and Arabs in the ninth and tenth centuries employed it also in a more extensive sense, answering to that of the name Northmen in Western Europe (pp. 49, 50). Now the question arises: What Scandinavian tribe was it to which the Slavs applied the name *Rus'?* And how is it possible for this name to have totally changed its meaning in the course of time and have come to signify a Slavonic nationality instead of a Scandinavian one?

I have before shown how antiquarian discoveries, linguistic evidence, and direct historic records all

[1] Comp. Rydqvist, Svenska Språkets Lagar, vol. iv. p. 306.

alike prove that, from time immemorial, there was an extremely lively movement from Sweden to the lands on the other side of the Baltic. After having been interrupted or only continued on a smaller scale for several centuries, this movement was resumed with redoubled energy in the eighth century, and certainly was not then restricted to mere occasional visits of Northmen, but Scandinavian settlers must have established themselves on different parts of the coasts. It must have been these very invaders and settlers to whom the Finns, the native inhabitants of these districts, gave the name *Ruotsi*, *Ruotsalaiset*, and the Slavs after their example the name *Rus'*, whatever the origin and primitive signification of this name may be. At that time neither the Finns nor the Slavs were seafarers, and therefore they could only become acquainted with the Scandinavians when the latter came over to their country. Later on, when the Finns came into closer connection with Sweden, they transferred the name *Ruotsi* to that country itself, while the Slavs, as we shall presently see, acquired in another way a name for the inhabitants of Sweden. It is possible that the *Rhos* who came to Constantinople in 838 or 839 belonged to some such colony, and not to Sweden itself; and the statement we find in certain Mahomedan authors, that the *Rûs* dwelt on an unhealthy island in a lake, may also originally refer to some such settlements.

If we keep this in mind I believe we shall better understand the chief event which Nestor places in 862, the foundation of the Russian state.

In Nestor's account of this event, the source of

which must be the tradition at Kiev, there is one point that all certainly agree to consider as incorrect. That is the chronology. But tradition does not care for chronology, and the date fixed by the chronicles for this event, 862, can only have been obtained by some kind of calculations. Nestor refers to this year a series of events for which it is impossible to find room in that space of time. According to him, in this same year the Varangian Vikings were driven back beyond the sea; the native tribes quarrelled for some time with each other; the Russ were called in from beyond the sea; Rurik's two brothers died 'after the lapse of two years' (!); and two of his followers, Askold and Dir, mastered Kiev. It is evident that all this cannot have taken place in one year, but that here different events are mingled together, which in reality were separated by a considerable interval, and 862 is probably only the date of the last of them, the occupation of Kiev. And how is it possible that in the same year in which the native Finnish and Slavonic tribes freed themselves from the oppression of the Varangians, they should, of their own accord, have again called in a Varangian clan from beyond the sea? Here also we must, I am sure, distinguish different events which the tradition has combined into one.

In itself it is very improbable that the contending tribes should have absolutely called in a foreign race of princes. This point has a somewhat legendary look. In this respect the remarkable resemblance between Nestor's account and the relation of the arrival of the Saxons in Britain is worth noticing.

In his Saxon chronicle Widukind tells us how ambassadors from the Britons addressed themselves to the Saxons on the continent, and invited them to help them and rule over them, in almost the same words which Nestor puts into the mouth of the Slavs and Finns:—'We offer this our land, which is large and spacious and abounds in all things, to be at your command[1].' However, this legend is perhaps only a naïve, as it were a dramatised, representation of the fact that the Slavs voluntarily subjected themselves to the dominion of the Russ. But even if it be so, the tradition decidedly suggests a difference between the Vikings who had just been driven away, and the Russ; the latter must have been a tribe whom the Slavs were previously acquainted and familiar with.

Thus we are again led to the same result as before. The Scandinavian clan which the Slavs called especially by the name given to them by the Finns, *Rus'* (as others are called *Svie*, others *Nurmane*, &c., adds Nestor), and which about the middle of the ninth century obtained the mastery over the Slavs, cannot under any circumstance have been called in directly by the Slavs from Sweden for this purpose. It must have been Swedish settlers whose primitive homestead was the coast just opposite the Gulf of Finland, but who had already for some time lived somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Finns and Slavs, probably near Lake Ladoga. We may perhaps find

[1] 'Terram latam et spatiosam et omnium rerum copia refertam vestrae mandant ditioni parere.' Widukind, Res gestae Saxonicae. i. c. 8, in Pertz, Monumenta Germ. hist., Script., vol. iii. p. 419. Comp. Kunik in Mémoires de l'Académie Imp. des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg, vii. série, tome xxiii. p. 242 ff.

a reminiscence of such an intermediate settlement in the notice preserved by some of the Russian chronicles, that Rurik and his brothers founded the town of Ladoga (comp. p. 13 note 2) and first settled there; for Ladoga really lies outside the ancient territory of the Slavs.

The mastery of the Russ over the Slavs begins with their settlement at Novgorod. Their absolute dominion here did not however attain any stability, and Novgorod soon ceased to be their capital. The real foundation of a Russian state dates from the occupation of Kiev. We have seen that shortly after Rurik had taken possession of Novgorod, two of his followers, Askold and Dir, left him and established themselves there (862 A. D.?), and in 882 Rurik's successor Oleg himself seized the town of Kiev and made it his capital. From this time the name Russ vanished from Novgorod, and was connected exclusively with Kiev. From this centre it spread itself in wider and wider circles over all the territory which has gradually been acquired by the Russian crown.

But as the name *Russians* thus diffused itself, its signification changed completely. It was once the ancient Slavonic appellation of the Northmen, and has at last come to signify a purely Slavonic nationality.

This change is similar to that which has taken place with respect to the name *Franks* and *France*. As is well known, the Franks were at first a Germanic tribe which made themselves masters of Gaul. From this name, Franks, was formed the name *France* (*Francia*), a political appellation of the land and the people that composed the state formerly established by the

Franks, or rather its nucleus the 'Isle de France.' When at last the Frankish nationality had died out or had been absorbed in the far more extensive Romance element, and the various races became blended, nationally as well as politically, the appellation *France, Français, French*, became the name of the united nation, but of quite another nation than that to which it first belonged. A similar instance may be found in the names *Northmen* (*Normanni*)—*Normandy*—*Normans*, and many others.

The evolution of the name *Rus'* or *Russ* was exactly similar. It also was at first the appellation of a foreign Scandinavian clan that gained the mastery over the native Slavonic tribes, though the invaders were of course far inferior to them in number. The name of this tribe, *Rus'*, was then naturally transferred, as a politico-geographical appellation, to all land under the rule of the Russ who dwelt at Kiev (= *rus'skaya zemlia*, the Russian land), next to the inhabitants also, Slavs as well as Northmen, and in this latter signification it gradually superseded the old names of the separate Slavonic tribes. When at last the political union turned into a national unity, the name *Russia, Russians* came of course to denote the whole nation.

This evolution of the name we can distinctly trace in Nestor's account. While he expressly says that the name *Russ* at first belonged to a Scandinavian clan, and he often uses it in this signification, it is obvious that in his own time it had lost this its original signification. He uses it chiefly as the politico-geographical denomination of Kiev and its

dominions. In this sense he speaks of 'the Poliane who are now called Russ,' and classes himself among the Russ ('we Russ'); but he ordinarily calls his own nationality and his own language Slavonic, not Russian. However, we see the germ of the modern signification in such phrases as this: 'The Slavonic and the Russian nation' (literally, 'language') 'is one; for they have called themselves Russ from the Varangians, but previously they were Slavonians.'

We have now treated of the origin and history of the name Russ. But there is another name which in Russian chronicles is so closely connected with it that it will be necessary for us to dwell a little upon it. I mean the name *Varangians*.

We have seen that in several passages, for instance that just mentioned, or where Nestor speaks of the foundation of the Russian state, the Russ are identified with the Varangians, or rather are described as a subdivision of the Varangians. It is impossible, in this connection, to give the word Varangians any other signification than Scandinavians. But, as the anti-Scandinavianists have remarked on good grounds, it appears that in other parts of the Russian chronicles a distinction is always made between these two names. In speaking, for instance, of the expeditions of Oleg and Igor, both the Russ and Varangians, as well as Polians, Slavonians, &c., are mentioned as forming part of the armies, and consequently these names must denote two separate tribes. This use of the word has been adduced as evidence against the Scandinavian origin of the Russ, and there is really here an apparent difficulty which has not hitherto, I think,

been satisfactorily explained. We must therefore more exactly consider the signification and history of the name Varangians, and try to define the mutual relationship between this name and the name Russ.

That the name Varangians is not confined to Russia alone has long since been observed, and it has been remarked that in Constantinople we meet with the same name, *Warings* or *Varangians* (Βάραγγοι), as the appellation of a body of guards specially consisting of Scandinavians, and in the Old Norse Sagas often mentioned under the name *Væringjar*. In Byzantine writings this body of Warings is mentioned for the first time under the date of 1034[1]. It must however have existed some time before that date, perhaps nearly a century earlier, as we may infer from other documents, Latin and Scandinavian, which allude to them. The first instances we find in the Sagas of Scandinavians expressly mentioned as having served in the Greek army are those of the Icelanders Thorkel Thjóstarsson and Eyvind Bjarnason (in Hrafnkels-saga), both before 950. Next, mention is made in Sagas of Grís Sæmingsson (c. 970–980), Kolskegg Hámundsson (c. 992), and Bolli Bollason (c. 1026–1030)[2]. These however appear to be the only instances at such an early date, as far as Norway and Iceland are concerned at least. The Swedes, on the contrary, may even at that period have furnished the chief contingents to the Varangian body, though

[1] Georg. Cedrenus, p. 735.

[2] See G. Vigfusson, Um tímatal í Íslendínga sögum, in Safn til sögu Íslands ok Íslenzkra bókmenta, vol. i. p. 407. Kaupmannahöfn, 1856. Comp. Kunik in Mémoires de l'Acad. Imp. de St. Pétb., vii. série, tome xxiii. p. 35.

the Sagas of course do not mention it[1]. During the eleventh century, from c. 1030, it became the fashion for Northmen of rank to take service under the Greek Emperors, and particularly after that the Norwegian prince Harald Hardrada (who afterwards fell fighting against Harold the Saxon) had fought under the Byzantine flag; but after that time also the bulk of them must undoubtedly have continued to be Swedes[2]. From that time the Varangian body formed a *corps d'élite* in the Greek army, to whom the care of the Emperor's person was specially confided. In this quality they are extremely often mentioned both in Greek and Scandinavian documents, the former often also alluding to their characteristic weapon, a long two-edged axe[3]. We do not however find them only in immediate attendance as the Emperor's body-guard, but also quartered in other places[4]. There still exists, at the present day, a remarkable monument which palpably reminds us of these Varangians. I mean the colossal marble lion in a sitting posture which now adorns the entrance to the Arsenal at Venice. This lion was brought thither from Piræus after the capture of Athens by the Venetian general Francesco Morosini in 1687. From time immemorial this monument had

[1] Comp. Kunik, l. c., p. 378.

[2] Compare Cronholm, Wäringarna, pp. 26, 29. Lund, 1832.

[3] From this weapon we often find them expressly designated, especially by affected authors who shrink from using the vulgar and barbaric name Varangians, *οἱ πελεκυφόροι βάρβαροι, οἱ πελεκυφόροι βασιλέων φύλακες, οἱ πέλεκύν τινα ἐπ' ὤμων φέροντες, οἱ πελέκεις ἔχοντες* Βάραγγοι, *κ.τ.λ.*

[4] Joh. Scylitzes (p. 864), for instance, mentions *οἱ ἐκτὸς* Βάραγγοι in opposition to *οἱ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ* Βάραγγοι.

stood near the harbour of Piræus, which had taken from it its Italian name of 'Porto Leone.' It is, in truth, a work of the best period of ancient Greek art; but what is most interesting to us is that on it there is a long Runic inscription, cut in serpentine curves on both sides of the body of the lion. Unhappily this inscription is so effaced by time and weather that it is now almost illegible[1]. From the form of the serpentine curves and the separate runes, however, the eminent runologist Professor S. Bugge, in Christiania, has proved[2] that it was cut, about the middle of the eleventh century, by a man from Sweden proper ('Svealand'), probably from the province of Upland; and there can be no doubt that this man once served among the Varangians and happened to be quartered at Piræus.

Towards the end of the eleventh century the Varangian body seems to have begun to change its character. From that time it was not only recruited from Scandinavia, but also by Englishmen, who after the Norman conquest, being driven away from their native land, or dissatisfied with the state of things there, repaired to Constantinople to win laurels in the Greek service: it can scarcely be doubted that among these Englishmen there were several Danes. Towards the end of the twelfth century we read in several authors that the Varangians were Britons

[1] The late Danish archæologist C. C. Rafn made an attempt to read and explain the whole of it (Inscription runique du Pirée = Antiquités de l'Orient. Copenhague, 1856); but the result must be considered a failure.

[2] In Kongl. Vitterhets Historie och Antiqvitets Akademiens Månadsblad (Stockholm), No. 43, 1875, p. 97 ff.

(Βρεταννοί), or Englishmen (Ἴγγλινοι), and that they spoke English (ἰγκλινιστί)[1]. From the beginning of the thirteenth century the visits of Scandinavians to Constantinople became more and more rare[2], and finally the Varangian body consisted exclusively of Englishmen. In this form it seems to have existed till the fall of the Byzantine empire.

On account of the position of the Varangians at Constantinople, as well as their frequent appearance in Russian history as hired troops in immediate attendance of the princes, this name has hitherto been unanimously considered as at first designating a military body, and it has been generally believed to have originated in Constantinople. It has then been supposed that only in later times did it come to signify the nation from which the body-guard was formed.

From the form of the word *Varangian* or *Waring* there can be no doubt it is of Scandinavian origin; the termination *-ing*, *-ing*, *-ang* is neither Slavonic nor Greek, but Scandinavian[3], and all the interpretations that have not been founded on this supposition have completely failed. Of the many etymologies

[1] Gaufredus Malaterra in his Historia Sicula, lib. iii. c. 27 (Muratori, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, vol. v. p. 584, 1724), mentions 'Angli quos Varingos appellant' as forming part of the Greek army in 1081.

[2] Saxo Grammaticus (c. 1200 A.D.) still says: 'Inter caeteros qui Constantinopolitanae urbis stipendia merentur, Danicae vocis homines primum militiae gradum obtinent, eorumque custodia rex salutem suam vallare consuevit' (Saxonis Grammatici Historia Danica, recc. P. E. Müller et J. M. Velschow, part i. vol. ii. p. 610. Havniae, 1839).

[3] Comp. Miklosich, Die Fremdwörter in den Slavischen Sprachen (Denkschriften der philosoph.-histor. Classe der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften, xv), p. 14. Wien, 1867.

which have been proposed for this word, the only one that satisfies the requirements of the science of language is its derivation from the Old Norse *vár*, usually plural *várar*, a pledge, troth; in Anglo-Saxon we find the same word in the form *wǽr*, with nearly the same meaning—a caution, pledge, covenant. Thence the word Warings or Varangians has been supposed to signify 'confederates,' or a body of 'sworn men.' When this interpretation was for the first time proposed, a foundation for it was supposed to be found in a still more ancient name *Foederati* (Φοιδερᾶτοι)[1], the designation of a body of mercenaries in the Byzantine army, originally (in the third and fourth centuries) consisting of Goths, and the Varangian body was believed to be a continuation of the *Foederati*, so that *Varangian*, *Waring* would be the national Teutonic appellation of the same body. It cannot however be doubted that there was no continuity or relationship whatever between these two bodies, as even in the fifth century the Foederati consisted of the most heterogeneous elements, chiefly recruited from Oriental nations, and in this form it seems to have continued to exist contemporaneously with the Varangians. But if that be the case, there is good reason to inquire whether the evolution of this word may not have been quite different from all that has been assumed hitherto, and all the more as the Old Norse word *vár-ar*, to which it is referred, is never used to signify a military oath or an oath of allegiance.

[1] J. Ihre, Glossarium Suiogothicum, vol. ii. pp. 1069, 1070. Upsaliae, 1769 fol.

Is it really certain that *Varangian* was at first the designation of a military body, or any military institution whatever? I do not think so, and must consider such an opinion to be a mere assumption. On the contrary, I maintain that the proper signification of the word *Varangian* in the whole of the East was a distinctly geographical one, viz. that of Scandinavians, and more particularly Swedes.

When we refer to the Russian chronicles, we always find the word Varangian (in Russian *Variag*, plural *Variazi*) used in this sense; as, for instance, in that passage in which the foundation of the Russian state is spoken of, and in which it is distinctly said that 'some of the Varangians were called Russ, just as others are called Svie, others Nurmane,' &c.; and there are numerous other passages which are equally evident. In short, there can be no doubt that whether the Varangians are mentioned in Russian documents as mercenaries in the Russian army, as is commonly the case in the earlier times, or as peaceful merchants, which is almost the rule in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the word never signifies any but Scandinavians, especially Swedes. This geographical interpretation is the only one which is satisfactory in every passage. One circumstance which must assign considerable antiquity to this signification is that in the chronicles the Baltic Sea is called 'the Varangian Sea' (*variazh'skoye more*). That this use of the word was not forgotten even after the lapse of centuries is clearly proved, for instance, by the letter which the Russian Czar Ivan the Terrible wrote to the Swedish king John

the Third in 1573, when he laid claim to the crown of Sweden. We there find this expression used: 'Your people have served my ancestors from very remote times; in the ancient annals Variags are mentioned who were to be found in the Autocrator Yaroslav-Georgi's army; but the Variags were Swedes, consequently his subjects[1].' Also in an account of the siege of the Tikhvin monastery by the Swedes in 1613, we find them called *Variags*[2].

If we turn to the Arabic writers we find there also the word *Varank*, but only with a geographical signification. The first Mahomedan writer who mentions the *Varank* is al-Bîrûnî (born in Chorasmia 973, + c. 1038 A.D.), an extremely learned and important author, of whose works—as far as they are still in existence—but a small portion has yet been published. But we learn from several more recent writers who quote him as their authority, that he had mentioned 'a bay of the great ocean which stretches northwards of the Slavs and is called the Varangian Sea (*Bahr Varank*); but *Varank* is the name of a people who dwell on its coasts[3].' Here the name *Varank* evidently denotes the Scandinavians, more particularly the Swedes, and the 'Varangian Sea' is clearly the Baltic, which, we observe, was called by

[1] "Народъ вашъ искони служилъ моимъ предкамъ: въ старыхъ лѣтописяхъ упоминается о Варягахъ, которые находились въ войскѣ Самодержца Ярослава-Георгія: а Варяги были Шведы, слѣдственно его подданные."—Карамзинъ, Исторія государства Россійскаго. Изд. четвертое. Т. ix. стр. 214. Санктпетб. 1834.

[2] Полное собраніе русскихъ лѣтописей, изданное по высочайшему повелѣнію археологическою коммиссіею. Т. iii. стр. 283. Санктпетб. 1841.

[3] See Frähn, Ibn Foszlan's und anderer Araber Berichte über die Russen, p. 177.

the same name by the Russian chroniclers. A Persian manuscript of Bîrûnî's 'Instruction in Astronomy' (composed in 1029) has lately been discovered, and we are told that in three passages of this work he speaks of the *Varank*, and that in the map which accompanies this manuscript they are clearly placed on the east coast of Sweden[1]. The same name was also mentioned by another author who is often referred to by other writers, Shîrâzî, who lived at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century. In a more recent Turkish geography (of the seventeenth century), entitled Jihân-numa, and composed by Haji Khalfah, the author says as follows: 'The German Sea (*Bahr Alaman*) is called in our geographical and astronomical books the Varangian Sea (*Bahr Varank*). The learned Shîrâzî, in his work called Tohfah, says, " On the coast of it dwells a nation of tall warlike men," and by these *Varank* he understands the Swedish people. . . . Now this sea is called the Baltic in the languages of the surrounding nations[2].' These instances will suffice to show that, in Oriental terminology also, the word *Varangian*, *Varank*, bore, from the beginning of the eleventh century, its geographical signification of Scandinavians, more particularly Swedes, and no other.

As far as regards the Byzantine terminology, it is true that the name *Varangoi* (Βάραγγοι) seems to be used there in the sense of a certain military force.

[1] See Mémoires de l'Acad. Imp. de St. Pétersbourg, série vii. t. xxiii. p. 368.

[2] See Frähn, l. c., p. 196.

I think, however, that was not the original meaning of the word; as employed by the Greeks it was also, at first, the popular[1] designation for the Scandinavians (especially the Swedes) as a nation and not merely the name of a particular body of troops. This is clearly indicated in Byzantine writings by the fact that we always find the name *Varangoi* co-ordinate with names of other nations. Thus, for instance, we frequently find 'Franks and Varangians' mentioned together[2]. In a passage of Georgius Cedrenus[3] the Varangians are mentioned in opposition to the *Romaioi*, i. e. the native Greeks, as he says, 'the soldiers who kept watch in the palace, both Romaioi and Varangians;' and he (or a copyist) adds that the latter are 'a Celtic (!) nation.' The learned and literary princess Anna Comnena speaks of 'the Varangians from Thule,' which she further explains as 'the axe-bearing barbarians[4];' these she opposes first to a division of the native army

[1] Comp. Joh. Scylitzes, p. 808 (= 644 in the Bonn edition), Βαράγγους αὐτοὺς ἡ κοινὴ ὀνομάζει διάλεκτος.

[2] e. g. Georg. Cedrenus, p. 787 (under the date of 1050 A.D.), τὰ συμμαχικὰ πάντα, Φράγγους φημὶ καὶ Βαράγγους; id., p. 789 (1052 A.D.), Φράγγους καὶ Βαράγγους; Joh. Scylitzes, p. 823 (under the date of 1068 A.D.), ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς στρατὸν ἐπαγόμενος ἐκ τε Μακεδόνων καὶ Βουλγάρων καὶ Καππαδοκῶν καὶ Οὔζων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παρατυχόντων ἐθνικῶν πρὸς δὲ καὶ Φράγγων καὶ Βαράγγων; id., p. 858 (1078 A.D.), μετὰ Βαράγγων καὶ Φράγγων πλήθους πολλοῦ.

[3] P. 792 (under the date of 1056 A.D.), οἱ φυλάσσοντες ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ στρατιῶται, Ῥωμαῖοί τε καὶ Βάραγγοι (γένος δὲ Κελτικὸν οἱ Βάραγγοι μισθοφοροῦντες Ῥωμαίοις).

[4] Anna Comnena, p. 62 (under the date of 1081 A.D.), τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Θοίλης Βαράγγους (τούτους δὴ λέγω τοὺς πελεκυφόρους βαρβάρους). Thule in Procopius and (from his example) in mediæval Greek authors signifies the Scandinavian peninsula, Sweden and Norway; see Cronholm, Wäringarna,

and then to the *Nemitzoi*, 'who also,' she says, 'are a barbarous nation[1].'

Kunik has also lately discovered, in the chronicle of the South-Italian convent of the Monte Cassino, written by Leo Ostiensis, the same name in the Italianised form *Guarani* or *Gualani*, and there the name is evidently employed as the name of a nation (viz. Swedes); thus 'Dani, Russi et Gualani' are mentioned (under the date of 1009) as Greek auxiliary troops who had been sent to Apulia and Calabria[2]. An Old Norse Saga finally gives testimony in the same direction. It is said in Harald Hardrada's Saga (ch. 3) that there were in Constantinople 'a great many Northmen, whom they there call Varangians[3].'

In a Russian work on the Varangians by Professor Vasilievski, which unfortunately is not accessible to me, the author is said to have proved that some Byzantines in the eleventh century used the two names *Varangoi* and *Rhos* as synonymes; and in some Greek documents lately discovered the two names form one compound word, *Varangoi-Rhos* or *Rhos-Varangoi*[4].

p. 35 ff. Lund, 1832, and Werlauff in Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs hist. og philos. Afhandlinger, vol. vii. p. 90 ff. 1845, 4to.

[1] Ibid., *τοὺς Νεμίτζους* (*ἔθνος δὲ καὶ τοῦτο βαρβαρικὸν καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ῥωμαίων δουλεῦον ἀνέκαθεν*). The *Nemitzoi* are evidently the Germans, whom the Slavs call *Nêmci*. Comp. Constantine Porphyrogen. De cerimoniis aulae Byz. ii. p. 398 . . . *εἰς τὸν ῥῆγα Σαζωνίας* [i. e. Saxonia], *εἰς τὸν ῥῆγα Βαϊούρη* [i. e. Bavaria] (*ἔστιν δὲ αὕτη ἡ χώρα οἱ λεγόμενοι Νεμίτζιοι*).

[2] See Mémoires de l'Acad. Imp. de St. Pétb., vii. série, tome xxiii. p. 376 ff.

[3] 'Þar var mikill fjöldi Norðmanna, er þeir kalla Væringja;' Fornmanna Sögur, vol. vi. p. 135. Copenhagen, 1831.

[4] Mém. de l'Acad., Imp. l. c., pp. 378 f. 409.

Here the word can only have been used to signify a nation, and the same or nearly the same nation as that which the Greeks had previously known under the name of *Rhos*. The compound words *Varangoi-Rhos* or *Rhos-Varangoi* must then signify as much as 'Swedish Northmen' or 'Scandinavian Swedes.'

From the proofs I have already produced I think it is clear that not only did the Greeks use the word *Varangoi* as the name of a nation (Scandinavians, Swedes), but even that this was its original and most ancient signification among them. It was only afterwards when the visits of the Scandinavians to Constantinople had become rarer, and when the body-guard which they had formed was recruited more and more from other nations, that the name was simply used as the name of a military body, armed with the same weapons, and holding the same peculiar position among the Imperial guards as once did the Scandinavians. This is a change in the signification of a word to which it is easy to find paraliels, whereas the employment of a word which first was used to signify body-guards to designate a nation of which this guard was chiefly composed, is certainly unexampled. I need only to remind you of the 'Swiss guards' of the French sovereigns and of the Pope at the present day, who continue to bear that name, though they have long ago ceased to consist exclusively of Swiss. The word *Zouave* also was at first the name of a single Arab tribe which levied the first troops of that particular description, but now has come to signify all sorts of troops wearing uniforms similar to those of the original Zouaves.

When we consult Scandinavian authorities we find this peculiarity, that though the Old Norse word *Væringjar* (in the singular *Væringr* or *Væringi*) is true Norse, yet in signification it is half foreign, since it only signifies the Scandinavian body-guards in the service of the Greek emperor, and has no reference to Scandinavians in general nor to any other foreign troops at Constantinople: thus, for instance, in Hakon Herdibreid's Saga, chap. 21 [1], the *Væringjar* are distinctly opposed to the Franks and Flemish, whose position in the Greek army was, however, about the same. The word cannot have obtained this signification in the Scandinavian lands, it must have been carried back thither by Scandinavians who had been in Constantinople. It is quite a solitary case when we find the word *Væringjar* in one Saga signifying Scandinavians or Northmen in general. This is the case in the comparatively modern Thidrek's Saga (from c. 1250 A.D.), and as several proofs occur in the same Saga that the author had been in Russia, or had relations there at least, inasmuch as he appears to be well acquainted with several localities there, it is probable that the peculiar employment of the word *Væringjar* in this Saga is an imitation of the Russian signification of the word *Variag*', whether the author wished to display his learning or found its use in this sense very practical [2]. This signification of the word is otherwise unknown in the North.

[1] Heimskringla eller Norges Kongesagaer udg. ved C. R. Unger, p. 776. Christiania, 1868 ( = Fornmanna Sögur, vol. v. p. 137. Copenhagen, 1830).

[2] Comp. G. Storm, Sagnkredsene om Karl den Store og Didrik af Bern hos de nordiske Folk, p. 91 ff. Christiania, 1874.

When we review the evidence here produced, it seems to me unquestionable that *Varangian* was always, among the eastern nations, a geographical or national title, and that it signified the inhabitants of Scandinavia, principally the Swedes. If that be the case, there can be no doubt that the Greeks received this name from Russia. Not only had the Scandinavians been known in Russia long before the Greeks made acquaintance with them, but it was even the Russ who first introduced them in Constantinople, and the Scandinavians who afterward repaired to Greece mostly travelled through Russia on their way thither. For this very reason it seems to me absurd to suppose that the word had been coined in Constantinople and afterwards taken thence to Russia. Whether the Arabs, in their turn, received this word from the Greeks or directly from Russia, must be left undecided.

When we reflect, on the other hand, that the name is incontestably Scandinavian in its root, yet that it presents itself in Old Norse literature as a half-foreign word, only one explanation seems possible to me, an explanation which at the same time clears up all philological and historical difficulties. That is to suppose that the word took its rise among the Scandinavians who in former times settled in Russia, that is to say, among that tribe to which the Slavs applied the name *Russ*, and that it is a designation given by them to their countrymen west of the Baltic, or, at any rate, to those of them whom the brisk connection between ancient Russia and Scandinavia took over there. If this supposition be correct, we gain, in this

purely Scandinavian name, a new proof of the Scandinavian nationality of the Russ.

The form which is the basis of the Russian form *Variag'*, the Greek form *Varangos*, and the Arabic form *Varank*, seems to be *Vāring-*, without the change of the *ā* to *æ* which we meet with in the Old Norse form *Væringi*. As to the origin of this word, it must, at any rate, be derived from a basis *vār-*. The Old Norse really possesses several words of this same form; but among them there is certainly one only which in this case is satisfactory, namely, the same which has previously been referred to (see above, p. 111). Only, I think that the interpretation of the word *Varangian*, which from this view has been hitherto generally accepted, is not correct.

In different Teutonic languages we find a word the most ancient form of which is *vārā* (Old Norse *vár-ar*, A. S. *wǽr*, Old High German *wâra*, &c.). The signification of this word is (1) truth, faith, faithfulness; (2) (=mediæval Latin *treuga*) pledge, plighted faith, truce, peace; (3) (with reference to that person who receives the *vārā* of another) security, safeguard, protection[1]. In Old Norse the word *vár* is used in the singular as the name of a goddess of faith[2]; the plural *várar* signifies a pledge, plighted faith, especially between man and wife, sometimes between personal foes[3], but never a military oath. Words akin to *várar* are in Old Norse the adjective *værr*,

[1] Comp. Müllenhoff in Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum, vol. xvi. (N. F. iv.) 1873, p. 149.

[2] Comp. Bugge, Sæmundar Edda, p. 128. Christiania, 1867.

[3] Sigrdrífumál 23 and 35, in Sæmundar Edda.

'peaceful, safe; snug, comfortable; tranquil, easy;' and the substantives *væri*, 'abode, shelter,' and *væra*, 'snugness, warmth; a rest, shelter[1].' A derivative from the same basis is the Old Norse *væringr* or *væringi*. If we review the just mentioned words, it must certainly be considered highly improbable that this word should have any especial reference to personal military service. It can scarcely signify anything but a person who finds shelter and safety somewhere[2]. From this view it may be compared with the Anglo-Saxon word *wǽrgenga*, which in an old glossary is interpreted 'advena,' a foreigner, but the proper signification of which is doubtless the same; in the Langobardian laws we find the corresponding word in the form *waregang*, with just the same meaning[3]. The name *Varangian* consequently signifies at first nearly as much as a denizen or a

[1] These words have nothing to do with the Old Norse *vera, vesa,* 'to be,' Gothic *visan,* as may be seen from the Old Norse words *úværr,* 'restless, fierce, uncomfortable' (modern Norwegian *uvær, ovær,* 'restless, uneasy, displeased'), *úværi,* 'uneasiness,' which evidently correspond to the Gothic *unvērjan,* 'to be displeased,' and *unvērei,* 'indignation;' but these Gothic words (together with *tuzvērjan,* 'to doubt') are unquestionably derived from **vēra,* which would be the Gothic form of the original *vārā.*

[2] In a verse in Egil's Saga we find the poetical compound *fold-væringi*, 'earth-dweller, i.e. the snake' (see Vigfusson, Icelandic Dictionary). The literal meaning may have been 'he who is sheltered in the earth.'

[3] 'Omnes waregang qui de exteras fines in regni nostri finibus advenerint, seque sub scuto potestatis nostrae subdederint, legibus nostris Langobardorum vivere debeant,' &c. Edictus Rothari, c. 367. In Mémoires de l'Acad. Imp. de St. Pétersb., vii. série, tome xxiii. pp. 249 ff., 372 ff., 421, Kunik has already compared these words with the Old Norse *væringi*, attempting to assign to all of them the signification of a sworn attendant; but, with all due respect to this admirable scholar, I cannot but consider this interpretation totally wrong.

metoecus; such was undoubtedly the very condition of the Scandinavians who came over to Russia, while the mastery of the country belonged to a kindred Scandinavian tribe.

This name, which was consequently at first the 'Russian' denomination of the Scandinavians who came over to Russia, according to their politico-social position there, was adopted by the Slavs in Russia as the name of those people according to their nationality, and it was extended also to denote the inhabitants of the Scandinavian motherlands west of the Baltic, especially Sweden. With this signification it was transmitted to the other eastern nations, among whom we find the word in use, and it thus gradually supplanted the more ancient name applied to the Scandinavians in the East, *Russ*, at the same time as this name changed its original signification. These two names, Russ and Varangian, far from having been synonymous, must once, on the contrary, have been used in opposition to each other. The relationship between them must have been about the same as between a 'Yankee' and an Englishman, or, among the Spaniards in America, between a Creole (*criollo*) and a 'Chapeton' or a 'Gachupin,' as they call a Spaniard from Europe. The distinction, however, was gradually forgotten, especially as the ancient Russ lost by degrees their primitive nationality and became Slavonicised. Therefore, according to the signification of the word in his time, Nestor may very well have defined the primitive Russ as a clan of the Varangians in one part of his history, and in another have drawn a distinction between the two names. In Scandinavia itself the

word *Varangian* was of course unknown in its eastern signification; in more recent times it was taken there again by Scandinavians who had resided in Constantinople, where the 'Russ' and the 'Varangians' met and associated with each other, and where the word had been handed down to them by tradition; in this manner it acquired in Scandinavia that restricted signification in which we find it used in the Old Norse Sagas.

Several questions still remain concerning the existence of the Scandinavian element in Russia. In the first place, How long did the primitive Russ, the ruling race in Kiev, maintain their Scandinavian nationality? When this tribe first obtained dominion over the Slavs, it cannot, comparatively speaking, have been very numerous; besides the princely leaders it consisted chiefly of warriors; still, though we learn nothing directly about it, there can be no doubt that, like other hosts of Northmen [1], the Russ were accompanied by women. We know, for instance, that Rurik's son Igor was married to one of his country-women, named Olga (Helga), who was born in Pleskov. Yet even if this be so, still many of these emigrants certainly soon began to intermarry with the native Slavonic women. Under these circumstances it seems all the less possible that the descendants of the original settlers, living amidst a far more numerous Slavonic population, could have preserved their Scandinavian nationality for more than the first three or four generations. So far as the reigning family is concerned, we find that Igor's son (born 942) bore

[1] Comp. J. Steenstrup, Indledning i Normannertiden, p. 270 ff.

the purely Slavonic name Sviatoslav; and from his time Slavonic names, with but few exceptions, were exclusively used in the reigning family. When Sviatoslav's son Vladimir (who died 1015) officially introduced Christianity into Russia in 988, he made the Slavonic language the language of the Church, and there is no doubt he at that time considered himself in all respects a Slav, though he probably was still acquainted with the language of his forefathers. In the time of his son and successor Yaroslav (+ 1054) the fragile traditional ties which still bound the Russian princes to the Scandinavian nationality were completely severed.

Though about the year 1000 the reigning house in Kiev may be considered essentially Slavonicised, it does not necessarily follow that by this time the Scandinavian element had entirely disappeared from Russia. There is much to indicate that the Russian race was continually recruited by Varangian immigrants from the Scandinavian lands, who came, not merely to serve for some time at the Russian court or in the Russian army, but also to settle permanently in Russia. According to the German writer Thietmar, the population in Kiev even in the year 1018 consisted 'chiefly of Danes[1],' whereby he certainly does not mean exclusively Danes in the stricter

[1] 'In magna hac civitate (*Kitava*, i. e. Kiev), que istius regni caput est, plus quam quadringente (quadraginta?) habentur ecclesiae et mercatus 8, populi autem ignota manus, quae sicut omnis haec provincia ex fugitivorum robore servorum huc undique confluencium, et *maxime ex velocibus Danis*, multum se nocentibus Pecinegis hactenus resistebat et alios vincebat.' Thietmari Chronicon, in Pertz, Monumenta Germ. hist., Script., vol. iii. p. 871.

sense of the word, but Scandinavians in general, in the sense in which this name was used in England at that time. From this and other evidence we seem entitled to conclude that the Scandinavian element was largely represented at Kiev even at the beginning of the eleventh century. But about this period the stream of reinforcements from the North ceases; for the abnormal conditions which had given the impulse to the Northmen's expeditions had long since ceased to exist. The complete establishment of Christianity had given an entirely new aspect to social life in the North, and the internal state of the Scandinavian countries claimed all the energies of the inhabitants. With about the year 1030 the Viking period is therefore considered to be at an end, and, in accordance with this, the Varangians are mentioned for the last time as subsidiaries in the Russian army in 1043[1]. The few Scandinavians who were to be found at that time in Russia proper (i. e. Kiev) were left to their fate, which it is not difficult to imagine.

The state of affairs was, however, different in Novgorod and its district. Having been abandoned by the Russian clan, it had maintained for some considerable time a fairly independent position as the rival of Kiev, and attained to considerable importance by means of its flourishing trade, to which its favourable situation and easy communication with the sea through Lake Ladoga greatly contributed. There the Scandinavian element was still more largely repre-

[1] Geo. Cedrenus, p. 551; comp. Muralt, Chronographie Byzantine, p. 627, and Kunik in Mémoires de l'Acad. Imp. de St. Pétersb., vii. série, tome xxiii. p. 30 ff.

sented than in Kiev, as many Varangians, Scandinavians from Sweden, particularly from Gothland, repaired thither for the sake of trade. How large this Scandinavian element was, may be guessed from Nestor's statement that Novgorod was 'a Varangian town;' and we learn from other sources that the Gothlanders had a large guildhall there in the twelfth century, and that there was a Varangian church there, &c. But from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Scandinavians were forced to give way to the Germans, and the lucrative Novgorod trade passed into the hands of the German Hanse Towns.

In conclusion, the question is, What influence after all has the Scandinavian element had upon the native element in Russia, and what traces has it left of its presence in former times? One thing is certain: if we could analyse the blood which flows in the veins of the ruling race of modern Russia, we should scarcely discover in it a drop derived from a Scandinavian source. While in this respect the Finnish tribes which once inhabited so large a portion of the Russian empire may have exercised a somewhat important influence, the number of Scandinavians there was comparatively so small, that in physical respects they could hardly have had any permanent influence.

That in manners and customs, in social life and political institutions in Russia, traces of Scandinavian influence were long to be found, is undoubted. But how many or how few these traces were is an extremely difficult question. To answer it would necessitate much preliminary research, which indeed

ought to be undertaken, according to the modern principles of science, but which at present has not been attempted.

More marked and distinct are the effects produced on the Russian tongue by the influence of a Scandinavian language. And yet here too close examination of this question presents considerable difficulties. On one hand, we may easily be misled in this respect by resemblances which are due to the original affinity between the Slavonic and the Teutonic languages (the Slav. *grad'*, in Russian *gorod'*, a town, for instance, is a genuine Slavonic word, akin to the Old Norse *garðr*, &c.). On the other hand, we shall perceive that not only the Russian, but also the other Slavonic languages, contain a great many words which are doubtless of Teutonic origin[1]; but we shall also observe that these words are by no means homogeneous, and that they belong to different strata of language. Thus there are many words common, more or less, to all the Slavonic languages, which must have been adopted from the language of the Goths, when the Slavs still dwelt together east of the Vistula: for instance, Slav. *st'klo* (стьклo), glass, from the Gothic *stikls*, a goblet; Slav. *usereg'* (оусерагъ), *usereg'* (оусеразь), an earring, from the Gothic *ausa-hrings*, &c. A great many other words have been borrowed from the German, partly in modern, partly in earlier times.

When we have carefully separated these several

[1] Comp. Miklosich, Die Fremdwörter in den Slavischen Sprachen, in Denkschriften der phil.-hist. Classe der kais. Akademie, vol. xv. Wien. 1867.

strata of Teutonic words, there will remain some which only occur in Russian, and not in the other Slavonic languages; these in form also betray a Scandinavian origin. In these words we are entitled to see memorials of the Scandinavian element which once played so important a part in the history of Russia. The greater portion of these words are only to be found in ancient Russian documents, inasmuch as they indicate things and ideas which are now out of date. Other words are preserved only in certain dialects; but unfortunately the Russian dialects have not as yet been thoroughly investigated, and it is therefore impossible for me to offer an exhaustive list of such words [1]. The words of that kind which I have noticed, and which I unhesitatingly affirm are of Scandinavian origin, are the following:—

Old Russian *ask'*, *yask'* (аскъ, яскъ), a box, modern Russian *yashchik'* (ящикъ), = Old Norse *ask-r*, Old Swedish *ask-er*, Modern Swedish *ask*.

Old Russian *grid'* (гридь), a body-guard, attendant (of the ancient Russian princes), = Old Norse *griðr*, a domicile, home, with the notion of service (*griðmaðr*, a servant, lodger).

Russian dial. *kerb'* (кербь), a bundle of flax, = Old Norse *kerf*, *kjarf*, Swedish *kärfve*, a bundle.

Russian *knut'* (кнутъ), a whip, scourge, = Old Norse *knút-r*, Old Swedish *knut-er*, a knot.

[1] Words of Scandinavian origin in Russian dialects (Слова областнаго словаря сходныя съ скандинавскими) have been collected by Grot in his Филологическія разысканія, pp. 430–442, St. Petersb., 1873; but I think that only a very small portion of his list can be admitted by a more severe criticism.

Russian *lar'* (ларь), a chest, = Old Swedish *lar*, modern *lår*.

(Russian *lava* (лава), a bench, couch, = Swedish *lafve*?).

Old Russian *luda* (луда), a kind of dress, a cloak, = Old Norse *loði*, a fur-cloak; *lóð*, the shagginess of cloth.

(Russian dialect (Arkhangelsk) *riuzha*, *riuza* (рюжа, рюза), a bow-net, weel, = Swedish *rysja*, id., which has also given the Finnish *rysä*).

Russian dialect *skiba* (скиба), a slice of bread, = Swedish *skifva*, id.

Old Russian *stiag'* (стягъ), a banner, in modern dialects (Novgorod, Pskov) a pole, = Old Swedish *stang*, Old Norse *stöng*, a pole, a banner (the Russian sound *ia*, *ya*, corresponds to original *en* or *an*).

Russian *stul'* (стулъ), a chair, perhaps = Old Norse *stóll*, Swedish *stol* (rather than = German *stuhl*, which should probably in Russian have received the form *shtul'*).

Old Russian *sud'* (судъ), name of Bosporus, = Old Norse and Swedish *sund*, a sound, straits.

Old Russian *shneka* (шнека), a kind of ship, = Old Norse *snekkja*, id.; the Old French *esneque*, mediæval Latin *isnechia*, must also have been borrowed from the Northmen.

Old Russian *tïun'*, *tivun'* (тіунъ, тивунъ), a steward, manager (always a serf), = Old Norse *þjónn*, a servant, attendant; the Old Swedish form would be *þiun*. The Russian *tïun'* corresponds in its signification to what is commonly called in Old Norse *bryti*; but the word *þjónn* seems to have been used

sometimes in a similar special signification; comp. the Norwegian Old Gulathings-law, ch. 198, where *þjónn* and *bryti* are mentioned together as the chief servants.

Old Russian *yabednik'* (ябедникъ), an officer in ancient Novgorod; comp. Old Norse *embætti*, Old Swedish *æmbiti*, an office (?).

Russian *yakor'* (якорь), an anchor, = Swedish *ankare* (Old Norse *akkeri*).

Though this list does not pretend to be exhaustive, we can say with certainty that the number of these words is not very large; yet they contribute to complete the picture I have tried to sketch in these Lectures.

We have seen that, according to the old Russian tradition, which is unanimously corroborated by abundance of other evidence of different kind, the first organisation of the Russian state was due to Scandinavians, *Russ* being the name by which, in ancient times, the Northmen were designated among the eastern nations; no serious criticism will ever be able to refute this fact. It is the Northmen who laid the foundation on which the native Slavs have raised a colossal superstructure, and the insignificant germ planted by them has developed into one of the greatest empires the world has ever seen.

# APPENDIX.

## OLD RUSSIAN PROPER NAMES.

(Compare pp. 67–73.)

### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

Dipl. S. = Diplomatarium Suecanum. Holmiae, 1829, ss., 4to.

Dyb. fol. = Sverikes Runurkunder granskade och utgifne af Rich. Dybeck. Stockholm, 1860–76, fol. Vol. i. Upland (U.). Vol. ii. Stockholmslän (St.).

Dyb. 8vo. = Svenska Runurkunder, utgifne af Rich. Dybeck. Stockholm, 1855–57, 8vo.

Förstemann = E. Förstemann, Altdeutsches Namenbuch. Vol. i. Personennamen. Nordhausen, 1855, ss., 4to.

L. = Runurkunder, utgifne af Joh. G. Liljegren. Stockholm, 1833, 8vo.

Steph. = The Old Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England, collected and deciphered by George Stephens. Vol. i–ii. London and Köbenhavn, 1866–68, fol.

O. N. = Old Norse.

The date under which each name occurs is added in parenthesis.

**Adulb'** (945) = O. N. *Auðulfr*. *AUÞULFR* L. 70 (= Dyb. fol. U. 129). *Adulphus*, Dipl. S. iii. pp. 99, 251, 271 (Upland). Compare A.S. *Eádwulf*, Old German *Audulf*, Förstemann, p. 180.

**Adun'** (945) = O. N *Auðunn*. *AUÞ.N*, L. 588 (= Dyb. fol. St. 171). .*UÞUN* L. 879 (Södermanland). *AUÞIN* L. 1355 (W. Gotland). *Ødinnus*, Dipl. S. iii. p. 91. Compare A.S. *Eádwine*, O. Germ. *Audowin*, Förstemann, p. 179.

**Aktevu** (912) = O. N. *Angantýr* (A.S. *Ongenþeów*)?

**Akun'** (945), **Yakun'** (1024 and often) = O. N. *Hákun(n)*. *HAKUN* occurs extremely often in Swedish Runic inscrip-

tions, for instance L. 312 ( = Dyb. fol. U. 1), 83 ( = ib. 134), 601 ( = ib. St. 247), &c. *AKUN*, L. 572 (Upl.). *Hacun*, Danish earl (Sax. Chron.).

**Aldan'** (945) = O. N. *Halfdanr*. One of the most common names in Swedish Runic inscriptions, written *HALFTAN*, *HALTAN*, *ALFTAN*. *Haldanus*, Dipl. S. iii. pp. 90, 261. A.S. *Healfdene* (Beowulf; Sax. Chron., A.D. 871, 875, 876).

**Alvard'** (945) = O. N. *Hallvarðr*. *ALVARÞ*, L. 1480 ( = Steph. 812). *Halwardus*, Dipl. S. iii. pp. 86, 91, 93, 95, &c.

**Amun'd'** (945) = O. N. *Ámundi; AMUTI*, L. 820, 825, 835, 840 (Södermanland); *Amundus*, Dipl. S. iii. pp. 100, 101, (Upland); or = O. N. *Hámundr; HAMUNTI*, L. 750 ( = Dyb. fol. U. 115); *Hamundus*, Dipl. S. iii. p. 98 (Upl.); compare A.S. *Heahmund;* or = O. N. *Eymundr; AIMUNT*, L. 959, 1053; *EUMUNT*, L. 1220; *UMUT*, L. 1186.

**Apub'ksar', Apubkar', Pub'ksar', Pupsar'** (945), a corrupt name in which may be concealed the O. N. *Óspakr; USBAKA*, L. 943; *OSBAKR*, L. 1223.

**Ar'fast'** (945) = O. N. *Arnfastr*, particularly used in Sweden and Denmark. *ARNFASTR*, L. 33, 1050. *ARFASTR*, L. 86 (Upland). *Aruastus*, Dipl. S. iii. p. 89 (Upl.). *Arnfastus*, Saxo, p. 578.

**Askold'** see **Oskold'**.

**Asmud'** (tutor of Igor's son Sviatoslav; c. 945) = O. N. *Ásmundr*. Extremely common in Swedish Runic inscriptions, and indeed in all Scandinavian countries. A. S. *Osmund*, O. Germ. *Ansemund*, Förstemann, p. 109.

**Bern'** (945) = O. N. *Björn*. One of the most common names everywhere in Scandinavia; in Runic inscriptions *BIARN*, *BIORN*, *BIURN*, *BIRN*, &c., in Latin documents *Bero*. A.S. *Beorn*, O. Germ. *Bero*, Förstemann, p. 224.

**Bruny** (945) = O. N. *Brúni*. Common in Swedish records, very rare elsewhere in Scandinavia. *BRUNI* occurs,

in Runic inscriptions from Upland, L. 685, 709, Dyb. fol. U. 85, 86 (= Steph. p. 733); from Södermanland, L. 934 (= Steph. p. 716); Dyb. 8vo. 41; from Nerike, L. 1029, 1038; from East Gotland, L. 1187. *Bruno*, Dipl. S. i. p. 188. O. Germ. *Bruni*, Förstemann, p. 283.

**Budy** (1018) = O.N. *Bóndi*. *BUANTI*, Dybeck, Runa 3, 11. *BUTNA* (for *BUNTA*), L. 348 (= Steph. p. 792); *Bondo*, (*Bonno*), Dipl. S. iii. pp. 95, 101, 584, 656 (Upland), &c.

**Buyefast'** see **Vuyefast'**.

**Dir'** (862) = O. N. *Dýri*. *TIURI*, L. 265, Steph. p. 633 (Upland); L. 1154 (East Gotland). *TURI*, L. 65 (Upl.); 1179 (East Gotland). *TIORI*, L. 1003. *Dyre*, Dipl. S. iii. p. 100. Compare O. Germ. *Dioro*, Förstemann, p. 337.

**Egri** (945) = O. N. **Hegri*. *Hegherus*, Dipl. S. iii. p. 336.

**Emig'** (945) = O.N. *Hemingr*. Extremely common in all the Scandinavian countries. *HIMINKR*, *HIMIKR*, *HENMIKR*, *HEMIK*, &c. in Runic inscriptions. Compare A.S. *Heming*.

**Erlisk'**, **Evlisk'** (945), probably miswritten for *Erlik'* = O. N. *Erlingr*?

**Eton'** (945)?

**Farlof'** (907 and 912) = *Farulfr*, common in certain parts of Sweden, unknown in the rest of Scandinavia. *FARULFR* occurs in Runic inscriptions from Upland, Dyb. fol. St. 20, 248, L. 434, 439 (= Steph. p. 618), 602, 827; from Södermanland, Dyb. 8vo. 39; from East Gotland, L. 1176. *Farulphus* Dipl. S. iii. p. 90 (Upl.). &c. Compare O. Germ. *Faraulf*, *Farulf*, Förstemann, p. 400.

**Fost'** (912) = *Fasti*, *Fastr*. Scarcely used except in Sweden, but very common there. We find it in inscriptions from Upland, L. 151 (= Dyb. fol. U. 202), 158, 224, 261, 277, 452, 462 (= ib. St. 104), 463, 464 (= ib. 97), 573 (= ib. 187), 589 (= ib. 172), 641; from Södermanland, L. 818, 837, 949; from East Gotland, L. 1133, 1657. *Fasto* Dipl. S. iii. pp. 99, 258 (Upl.); *Fastæ* ib. ii. p. 394 (Södermanland).

**Frastên'** (945), **Prastên'** (945, thrice) = O.N. *Freysteinn.* One of the most common names in Swedish records (in runes *FRAUSTAIN, FRAISTAIN, FRUSTIN, FRYSTEN,* &c.).

**Frelaf'** or **Frelav'** (912) = O. N. *Friðleifr, Frilleifr.* Compare O. Germ. *Friduleib*, Förstemann, p. 427.

**Frudi** (945) = O. N. *Fróði. FRUÞA* (accus.), L. 1096 (East Gotland). *Frodho* Dipl. S. iv. p. 16. Compare A.S. *Fróda* (Beowulf), O. Germ. *Frodo*, Förstemann, p. 432.

**Frutan** (945)?

**Fur'stên'** (945) probably = O. N. *þorsteinn,* an extremely common name. As to f = þ, compare Russian *Feodor'* = Greek Θεόδωρος.

**Gomol'** (945) = O. N. *Gamall;* frequent in Sweden, especially in Upland (for instance *KAMAL*, L. 166, 210, 371, 475, 558, 651, 781), rare in Norway, unknown in this form in Iceland (whereas *Gamli* occurs there).

**Grim'** (945) = O. N. *Grímr;* very common in the whole of Scandinavia.

**Gudy** (912 and 945) = Runic *KUÞI*, L. 362 (Upland), 1235, which may represent either *Góði*, from *góðr*, good (compare *Gothe*, Dipl. S. iii. p. 88, and A.S. *Goda*, Sax. Chron., A.D. 988, O. Germ. *Godo*, Förstemann, p. 529), or *Guði* = Icelandic *goði*, a priest.

**Gunar'** (945) = O. N. *Gunnarr.* Extremely frequent, also in Sweden. A.S. *Gúðhere*, O. Germ. *Gundachar*, Förstemann, p. 562.

**Gunastr'** (945) = O. N. *Gunnfastr;* a name peculiar to Sweden, which more frequently occurs in the form *Guð-fastr* (Runic *KUÞFASTR*).

**Igel'd' In'gel'd'** (912 and 945) = O. N. *Ingjaldr. IN-KIALTR, IKIALTR* in Runic inscriptions, *Ingeldus* in Latin documents. A.S. *Ingeld* (Beowulf), O. Germ. *Ingild*, Förstemann, p. 784.

**Igor'** (+945), Ἴγγωρ, Ἴγγορ in Greek documents, *Inger* in Liudprand, = O. N. *Ingvarr*. Very common in Sweden, particularly in Upland and Södermanland. Besides the inscriptions mentioned above (p. 81 f.) we have *INKVAR*, L. 436 (= Dyb. fol. St. 128), 484 (= ib. 135), 601 (= ib. 247), 605, 650 (= ib. 23), 927 (Södermanl.), &c. *IKVAR*, L. 437 (= Dyb. fol. St. 127), 562 (= ib. 236), 1106 (East Gotland). *INGVAR*, Dyb. fol. St. 81 (= L. 423). *Inguarus* is extremely frequent in Dipl. S. Compare O. Germ. *Inguheri*, Förstemann, p. 785.

**In'gel'd'** see **Igel'd'**.

**Ingivlad'** (945) = O. N. *Ingivaldr*. A name peculiar to Sweden. *INKIVALTR* for instance L. 83, 481 (= Steph. p. 788). *Ingiualdus*, *Ingeualdus* very often in diplomata.

**Iskusev', Iskusevi** (945)?

**Istr'** (945) = *ISTRUR*, L. 753 (= Dyb. fol. U. 120)? or = O. N. *Eistr*, in Runic inscriptions *AIST(R)*, *IST(R)*?

**Ivor'** (945, 1109, &c.) = O. N *Ívarr*, a common Scandinavian name.

**Kanitsar'** (*Kanimar*? 945)?

**Karl'** (907) = O. N. *Karl*. One of the most frequent names in Sweden. Compare O. Germ. *Carl*, Förstemann, p. 303.

**Karly** (912) = O. N. *Karli*. *KARLI*, L. 1557 (East Gotland). Just as in O. N. we find the forms *Karl* and *Karli* applied indiscriminately to the same person, it seems to be the same man that is called in 907 *Karl'* and in 912 *Karly*.

**Karn'** (912) = *Karni*, whence the accusative case *KARNA*, L. 1188 (East Gotland)? Elsewhere unknown.

**Karshev'** (945) = O. N. *Karlsefni*? or = *KARSI*, L. 506, 515 (Upland)?

**Kary** (945) = O. N. *Kári*, frequent in all the Scandinavian countries.

**Klek'** (945) = *Klakki* (*KLAKI*, L. 936, 1278, 1400)? Some manuscripts have *Vlekov'* or *Slekov'* instead of *Klekov'*.

**Kol'** (945) = O. N. *Kollr*, which rather frequently occurs in Sweden, for instance, *Collo*, Dipl. S. iii. p. 101 (Upl.), *Coll*, Saxo, p. 381.

**Kuci** (945) perhaps = O. N. *Kussi*, (a calf). This word, which is often used as a surname, may undoubtedly, though I can quote no instance of it, have been employed also as a personal name quite as well as the synonym *Kalfr*, which is very frequent in this use. (The name *KUSI* is perhaps to be found in the Runic inscription Dyb. fol. St. 196 = Dyb. 8vo. 69.)

**Libi** (945)?

**Lidul'** (912) = O.N. *Leiðulfr*? Compare *LITULF*, L. 4 (Upland)?

**Liut'** (975) may be = O. N. *Ljótr*, *LIUTR*, L. 274, Dyb. fol. U. 214; but it may just as well be Slavonic (*liut'*, cruel).

**Malfrid'** (+ 1000) = O. N. *Malmfríðr*, *Málfríðr*.

**Mony** (945) = *Manni* (from *maðr*, *mann*, a man) which does not appear to occur in the Norse-Icelandic Saga-literature, but is common in Sweden and Denmark. *Manne*, Dipl. S. i. p. 53 (Skåne); iii. p. 92 (Upland); *Manno*, ib. i. p. 708 (Småland). Comp. A.S. *Manna*, Sax. Chron., A.D. 921, O. Germ. *Mannus*, *Manni*, Förstemann, p. 903. It must be well distinguished from the O.N. name *Máni* (literally the moon), which in Slavonic could not become *Mony* but only *Many*. In Runic inscriptions we often find *MANI* (e.g. from Upland L. 491, 616, 617, from Södermanland L. 860, 901), which doubtless mostly represents *Manni*, double letters being unknown in Runic writing.

**Mutur'** or **Mutor'** (945) = O.N. *Móðþórr*? or *Munþórr*? neither of these names occur in the records, but may very well be supposed.

**Olêb'** or **Ulêb'** (945) = O. N. *Óleifr*, afterwards *Ólafr*.

One of the most common names in all Scandinavia. The Slavonic *é* presupposes the O. N. diphthong *ei* (or *ai*), and in Swedish Runic inscriptions we really always find it written *OLAIFR* or *ULAIFR*. A.S. *Anláf*.

**Ol'ga** (the wife of Igor, + 969), Ἕλγα in Greek authors = O. N. *Helga*.

**Ol'g'**, **Oleg'** (+ 913) = O.N. *Helgi* (comp. A.S. *Hálga*). Both this name and the preceding one are very frequent in all parts of the Scandinavian countries. They must originally have been adopted by the Slavs in the forms *Vel'g'*, *Vel'ga* (compare the Greek Ἕλγα); afterwards *ye* was changed into *o* according to a phonetic law peculiar to Russian; compare Russian *olén'* = O. Slav. *yelen'*, a deer; Russ. *odín'* = O. Slav. *yedin'*, one; O. Russ. *oliad'*, a galley, from the Greek χελάνδιον.

**Ol'ma** = O. N. *Holmi*, a frequent name in Sweden (L. 513, 522, 554, 628, 657, 1038, 1236)?

**Oskold'** or **Askold'** (862) = O. N. *Höskuldr* (in Irish records *Ascalt*, comp. The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, ed. by J. H. Todd, p. 233. London, 1867).

**Prastên'** see **Frastên'**.

**Roald'** see **Ruald'**.

**Rognêd'** (daughter of Rogvolod', + 1000) = O. N. *Ragnheiðr*, *Ragneiðr*. Compare O. Germ. *Reckinheid*, Förstemann, p. 1018.

**Rogvolod'** ('had come from beyond the sea;' prince of Polotsk; 980) = O. N. *Ragnvaldr*. *RAHNVALTR*, L. 397 (= Dyb. fol. St. 46); *RAKNVALT*, L. 436, 437 (= ib. 127, 128); *Ragualdus*, Dipl. S. iii. p. 87, 260 (Upl.), &c.

**Ruald'** (912 and 945), **Roald'** (A. 945) = O. N. *Hróaldr*. *HRUALTR*, Dyb. 8vo. 2. *Hroald* Danish earl, Sax. Chron. A.D. 918. Comp. O. Germ. *Hrodowald*, Förstemann, p. 741.

**Ruar'** (912) = O. N. *Hróarr*. *HRUAR*, L. 1329 (West Gotland); *RUAR*, L. 1104 (East Gotland); *RUARI* (dative),

Dyb. 8vo. 46 (Södermanland). *Roarus*, Dipl. S. iii. p. 163. Perhaps = A.S. *Hrôðgár*, O. Germ. *Hrodgar*, Förstemann, p. 727.

**Rulav'** (907 and 912) = O. N. *Hrôðleifr*, *Hrolleifr*. *RULAIFR*, L. 1550 ( = Dyb. fol. Upl. 34); *RULEFR*, L. 174 (Upl.); *RULIF(R)*, L. 143, 165 ( = Dyb. fol. Upl. 208), 973 (Södermanland). *Rodlevus*, Dipl. S. iii. p. 101 (Upl.). Compare O. Germ. *Hrodleif*, Förstemann, p. 735.

**Rurik', Riurik'** (862) = O. N. *Hrœrekr*. *HRURIKR*, L. 1096 (East Gotland). *Rφrik*, Dipl. S. iii. p. 97 (Upl.); *Rφricus*, ib. ii. pp. 8, 37, 88, 102, 105; iii. pp. 89, 94, 256, &c. A.S. *Hréðríc*, O. Germ. *Hrodric*, *Ruodrich*, Förstemann, p. 740.

**Sfan'da?** (945; the reading is not certain) a female name the first element of which appears to be O. N. *Svan-* (as in O. N. *Svanhildr*, *Svanlaug*, &c.).

**Sfir'k', Sfir'ka** (945) = *Sverkir*, a frequent name in Sweden where several kings bore this name. In Norway and Iceland the form *Sörkvir* had the preference.

**Shibrid'** (945) = O. N. *Sigfriðr* (in the Sagas always *Sigfröðr*, *Sigröðr*). *SIKFIRUÞR*, L. 126 ( = Dyb. fol. Upl. 156); *SIKRITR*, L. 80 ( = ib. 148, Steph. 723); *SIHFRIÞR*, L. 1731. *Sigfridus*, Dipl. S. iii. pp. 99, 389. Compare O. Germ. *Sigifrid*, Förstemann, p. 1091.

**Shikh'bern'** or **Shigobern'** (945) = *Sigbjörn*, which never appears in O.N. book-literature, but is very common in Swedish records. *SIKBIARN*, L. 294 ( = Dyb. fol. Upl. 256), 545 ( = ib. St. 214). *SIHBIARN*, L. 523, 780 (Upland). *SIKBIURN*, L. 1061, 1133, &c. *Sigbernus*, Dipl. S. iii. pp. 98, 112, 541. Compare O. Germ. *Sigipero*, Förstemann, p. 1088.

**Sineus'** (862) = O. N. *Signiutr* (*Signjótr*), which often occurs in Upland, but scarcely elsewhere in the North, never in the Saga-literature. *SIKNIUTR*, L. 204, 360 ( = Dyb. fol. St. 70), 669 ( = ib. Upl. 58). *SIKNIOT*, L. 500 ( = ib. St.

144). *SIHNIUTR*, Steph. 620 ( = L. 269). *SIHNIUTA*, L. 214 ( = Dyb. fol. U. 189). *Signiatus*, Dipl. S. i. p. 530.

**Sinko Borich, Isino Kobirich, Isin'ko Birich** (945), a corrupt name which can hardly be restored.

**Sludy** (945) = *Slóði*. Frequent in Södermanland and Upland, elsewhere unknown. From Södermanland: *SLOÞI*, L. 916, 953 ( = Steph. 741), 966 ( = Säve in Kgl. Vitterhets, Hist. och Antiquitets Akademiens Handlingar, vol. xxvi. p. 356. Stockholm, 1869), Dyb. 8vo. 41, 83. From Upland: *SLUÞI*, L. 280, Dyb. fol. Upl. 142.

**Stemid'** (907 and 912) perhaps = O. N. *Steinviðr*, though no example of this name seems to be preserved; but names in *-viðr* were extremely common and numerous in Sweden.

**Stengi** (written *Steggi*; 945) perhaps = O. N. *Steingeirr* (*STAINKIR*, Dyb. 8vo. 40)?

**Stir'** (945) = O. N. *Styrr*. *STUR*, L. 162 (Upl.). *Styr*, Dipl. S. iii. p. 98 (ib.).

**Stud'k'**, **Studek'** (945) = *Stœðingr*, a name which is known only from Upland and East Gotland. In East Gotland occurs *STUÞIKR*, L. 1113 ( = Steph. 614); in Upland *STÜÞIK*, L. 128 ( = Dyb. fol. Upl. 154); *STÖÞINKR*, L. 206 ( = ib. 182). (*Styinge*, Dipl. S. iii. pp. 88, 89; *Stying*, ib. p. 89?)

**Svên'** (945) = O. N. *Sveinn*. One of the most frequent names in Sweden, and indeed in all Scandinavian countries.

**Svênald'** (945 and later) = *Sveinaldr*, which often occurs in Sweden, but scarcely outside that country. *SVINALTR*, L. 469 ( = Dyb. fol. St. 113). *SVAINALTI*, L. 917 (Södermanland). *SVAINALTR*, L. 1123 (East Gotland). *Suanaldus*, Dipl. S. iii. p. 95 (Upl.); *Swenaldus*, ib. iv. p. 646.

**Tilen'**, **Tilei**, or **Tirei** (945), a corrupt name of very uncertain form.

**Truan'** (912) = O. N. (**þróandr*,) *þróndr*, *þrándr*. *ÞORONTR*, L. 170 ( = Dyb. fol. Upl. 205); *ÞRUNT*, L. 1176

(East Gotland). *Thronder*, Dipl. S. iii. p. 65. Compare O. Germ. *Throand*, Förstemann, p. 1198.

**Truvor'** (862) = O. N. *þorvarðr*. In Sweden and Denmark we sometimes find the syllable *þor-* in similar names changed into *þru-*, *Tru-*; compare *ÞRUNIUTR* for *ÞURNIUTR*, L. 806; *Thrugotus*, Saxo p. 596 = *þorgautr*; *Thrugillus* (Saxo p. 513, Dipl. S. ii. p. 257, Langebek, Scriptores rerum Dan. viii. 233, &c.), Swedish *Truls*, Danish *Truels* = O. N. *þorgils*; Swedish *Truve* (Rääf, Ydre-Målet eller Folkdialekten i Ydre Härad af Öster Götland, p. 124. Örebro 1859), probably = O. N. *þorviðr*.

**Tuky** (1068) = O. N. *Tóki*. Frequent, especially in Sweden and Denmark.

**Tulb'** (945) = *þolfr*, which occurs only in Sweden and Denmark: *ÞULFR*, L. 1120 (East Gotland), 1416 (Skåne). (Some manuscripts have *Tuad'*, of which Miklosich in his edition of Nestor makes *Truad'*; but this correction is unnecessary and scarcely can be right).

**Tur'bern'** (945) = O. N. *þorbjörn*. Extremely frequent everywhere in the North.

**Tur'brid'** (945) = O. N. *þorfriðr*. *ÞORFRIÞ* L. 367 (= Dyb. fol. St. 2). *ÞURFRIÞ* L. 1098 (East Gotland). In O. N. book-literature this name has the form *þórröðr* (compare *Shibrid'*).

**Turd'** (945) = O. N. *þórðr*.
**Tury** (945) = O. N. *þórir*. } Both extremely frequent.

**Ul'b'** (945) = O. N. *Ulfr*, if this reading is the true one. The manuscripts have **Ulêb'** which may be = O. N. *Óleifr* (compare *Olêb'*).

**Ustin'** (945) perhaps = O. N. *Eysteinn*; but the reading of the name is not certain.

**Ver'mud'** (907 and 912) = O. N. *Vermundr*.

**Voist' Voikov'** (945), two very doubtful names.

**Vuyefast'** (945) perhaps = O. N. *Véfastr*. *VIFAST*, L.

41 ( = Dyb. fol. Upl. 42), 318 ( = ib. 6). *Vyfaster*, Dipl. S. ii. p. 231, *Viuastir* ib. S. iii. p. 89. Miklosich in his edition of Nestor gives *Buyefasť*, perhaps = *Bófastr*, compare *Bofester*, Dipl. S. i. p. 188; *Bowastus*, ib. iii. p. 657.

**Vuzlêv'** or **Vuzlêb'** (945)?

**Yakun'** see **Akun'**.

**Yatviag', Yavtiag'** or **Yastiag'** (945)?

# ADDITIONS.

(To pp. 52–66.)

In the Dutch Review 'Mnemosyne, Bibliotheca philologica Batava,' Nova Series, vol. iv. pars iv. pp. 378–382, Professor C. G. Cobet has lately published that passage of Constantine Porphyrogenitus in which he gives us the names of the Dnieper rapids, according to a new and exact collation of the chief MS. of this author. This MS. is written on parchment, in the eleventh or twelfth century, and is preserved in the National Library at Paris (No. 2009, 4to.). The same Library possesses also another MS. of inferior value (No. 2967 fol.), written on paper in the fifteenth century; this MS., according to Professor Cobet, is a mere copy of the other. The small specimen Prof. Cobet gives us sufficiently proves how uncritical all the previous editions of this author are, and how much a new edition is to be desired.

Among the names of the rapids there are two for which Prof. Cobet has proved that the traditional forms which we find in the printed editions are not correct. As the interpretation of these two names must be somewhat modified in consequence of this discovery—by which I could not profit before the conclusion of my manuscript—I shall venture to give here some additional remarks upon this subject.

The name of the fourth rapid (p. 57 ff.) is not in Russ Ἀειφάρ, *Aïfar*, as the printed editions have hitherto constantly given it, but according to both MSS. Ἀειφόρ, *Aïfor*

This reading gives us at once a still better interpretation than that which I propounded above (p. 63). The name now undoubtedly turns out to be a compound, of which the former part is the Old Norse particle *ei*, *ey*, *æ*, ever, while the latter part is the Old Norse adjective *forr*, forward, precipitate, violent, and not the substantive *fari*. This adjective, which is still used in Norway in the form *for* (see I. Aasen, Norsk Ordbog, p. 177. Christiania, 1873), is, in all probability, the base of the word *fors*, a waterfall, rapid, or at least a derivative from the same radical. *Eyforr*, *Eiforr* (in Old Swedish *Aiforr*) consequently means 'the ever violent,' 'ever rapid' ('perpetuo praeceps'), a name which is in fact still more expressive than '*Eifari*,' literally 'aye-faring,' 'going on for ever.'

The other of the names in question is that of the seventh rapid (p. 65 f.), which all editions give us in the form Στρούβουν, *Struvun* (or *Strubun*), and such is in fact the word in the paper MS. 2967. But the original parchment MS. 2009 has most distinctly Στρούκουν, *Strukun*, which consequently must be considered to be the correct reading. If it be so, this name cannot any more, of course, be referred to the Old Norse *straumr*, a stream, but the true interpretation can be easily found. In Norse we find the words *strok* (neutr.) or *stryk* (masc.), 'a rapid current in a river, especially where it is narrow' (see Aasen, l. c., pp. 761, 762); in Swedish dialects the corresponding word, with the same signification, is found in the form *stråk* or *struk* (neutr.) (see Rietz, Ordbok öfver Svenska Allmogespråket, p. 685. Lund, 1867); Rietz gives us also a feminine word *strukk*, 'a small rapid which it is possible to ascend by rowing.' I have no doubt that the name *Strukun* represents this very word in its Swedish form *struk* (as to the vowel *u*, comp. p. 55, note 1); in this way the name most exactly agrees with the translation of Constantine, 'the small rapid,' with the corresponding Slavonic name,

and with the character of the place. The termination *-un* of the form *Strukun* only remains doubtful. It can hardly be the definite article of the Scandinavian languages, which is seldom or never used in proper names. It rather looks like the Old Norse and Old Swedish termination of the dative plur. *-um*; if it be so, we may imagine that the dative form *Strukum* originally, in Russ, happened to be governed by some preposition, e.g. *at*, at, to; and thus *Strukum* might be supposed to be the name of the rapid. How it happened so is of course a mere matter of guess-work; though it may be ascribed with more probability to some error of Constantine or his authority, than to some real peculiarity in the denomination of this place. Let me add, that there may possibly be some connection between this form and the syllable *na-* in the corresponding Slavonic name *Naprezi*, *na* being a Slavonic preposition with the signification 'on' or 'at.'

I have made no remark on the name Σαμβατάς, *Sambatas*, which is said to be another name of Kiev (p. 52). Though it is not expressly stated, it can scarcely be doubted that this word, which cannot be Slavonic, gives us the 'Russian' name of that town. No satisfactory interpretation of this name has hitherto been propounded, nor can I explain it with certainty. I venture, however, to put forth the hypothesis that it might be the Old Norse *Sandbakki*, the sandbank, or *Sandbakka-áss*, the sandbank-ridge. I believe that this interpretation would suit the character of the place, but I cannot affirm it, and must leave the decision of this question to others. (Gedeonov explains the name *Sambatas* from the Hungarian *szombat*, which he translates 'a fortress,' and he employs this interpretation in support of the fantastic hypothesis that Askold and Dir were Hungarians. The Hungarian *szombat*, however, signifies nothing but 'Saturday'; it is borrowed from the Slavonic *sąbota*, i.e. Sabbath.

What may have induced Gedeonov to assign to this word the fictitious signification 'a fortress,' is its frequent occurrence in names of towns and villages in Hungary; but also the names of the other days of the week are used in this manner, a circumstance which may probably be explained from the peculiar custom of calling a place from its market-day. Thus we are told that the word *szombat* exists in fourteen local names of Hungary and five of Transylvania; *szerda*, Wednesday, in nineteen names of Hungary and six of Transylvania; *péntek*, Friday, in seven names of Hungary and four of Transylvania, &c. But the days of the week are, among the Hungarians, a Christian institution; consequently their names did not yet exist in Hungarian at the period to which the name *Sambatas* belonged. Comp. C. W. Smith, Nestors Russiske Krönike, p. 352. Kjöbenhavn, 1869. Hunfalvy, in Nyelvtudományi Közlemények, vol. vi. p. 216 f. Pest, 1867. Roesler, Romänische Studien, p. 134. Leipzig, 1871.)

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